

Maclean's

The background of the cover is a close-up photograph of a soldier wearing a helmet and aiming a rifle. The image has a torn paper or collage-like texture, particularly around the soldier's face and the rifle. The soldier's face is partially obscured by the helmet and the rifle's barrel.

**BEN
JOHNSON'S
RETURN**

AFTER MIDNIGHT

**CANADA AND
THE WORLD
AT THE EDGE
OF WAR**





YOU CAN'T DO BETTER THAN
TASTER'S CHOICE.

Maclean's

California State Library News Service JANUARY 31, 1991 VOL. 104 NO. 3

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COVER

AFTER MIDNIGHT

Despite a burst of last-minute diplomatic activity before the Jan. 25 UN deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, a breakthrough in the Persian Gulf crisis remained elusive. Congress authorized America to make war. In the streets of the Iraqi capital, there was a palpable mood of gloom. And in the Gulf, Canadian and other allied forces tensely awaited the order to go into action. — J.



SPORTS

BEN JOHNSON RUNS BACK

Don Johnson resumed his racing career, but disappointed some of his fans last week when he placed only second in the 80-m dash at a track meet in Hamilton. Still, Johnson's performance made his coach optimistic—and gave his competitors plenty of reasons to look over their shoulders. —A



CANADA

EARS TO THE GROUND

In Saint John, N.E., the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, headed by Keith Spicer, began a six-month exploration of the national soul. It now has to persuade Canadians to share their private hopes and fears for the country—and refine from their comments a vision capable of reviving a fulcrum nation. — J.



LETTERS

THE FACE OF CONFRONTATION

In an image, in your Photo of the Year, by the face of the young Canadian soldier confronting the masked Mohawk Warrior in Remble-les-pins (1990, the year of the 100th birthday of 1990, Dec. 31). The young soldier shows a degree of courage, control and confidence that I, and surely many other Canadians, greatly admire.

Charles R. Vignola,
Oshawa, Ont.

Could you explain to me how a soldier who stood silently, passively and showed no emotion while being cursed and threatened with death is "challenging" anyone? A more accurate caption for your Photo of the Year might have been "Mohawk Warrior mocks and jabs silent soldier."

Kevin D. McElroy,
Thunder Bay, Ont.

'DISAPPOINTING' COVERAGE

Your coverage of Jean Charest's appearance before Quebec's Bilhaud-Campes commission ("A federal case," Canada, Dec. 31) was disappointing. This was Charest's first major policy speech on the future of Quebec's position in Canada since his election to Parliament. And yet only one-third of your article reported on what Charest actually said. In fact, a flattering picture of Mulroney and his child was given more space than Charest's speech.

Richard Greer,
Weymouth

COMPETITION IN UTOPIA

Charles Gordon obviously has yet to realize that Canada had better get ready to compete in the world marketplace or be left behind, with its head in the sand ("Before the creation of 'Tiny Utopia,'" Canada, Dec. 31). No doubt Gordon has some better ideas for reducing the deficit, which he should detail in his next column, and—while he is at it—run for office.

Thomas Sutherland,
Burlington, Ont.

I have news for Charles Gordon: Many Tories would love the deficit disappeared—probably for more than would not—and I suspect that you could say the same for people of any political persuasion about the CBC. Daily mail delivery and memoranda of The Canadian 70s and 80s of completely negative comments, with no suggestion of alternative solutions except perhaps a Gordon Utopia, are of little value.

David Keshish,
Oshawa, Ont.



Soldier and Warrior: 'courage'

THE IDEOLOGY OF STYLE

Barbara Ansel objects to *The Globe and Mail's* new stylebook ("The frightening tyranny of language," Canada, Dec. 31) because of its subtle concerns with correct language, foreign words and expressions don't.

ing with the disabled, rather than with issues of social importance—spelling and punctuation. Besides the obvious misapprehension of the purpose of a stylebook, which is consistency of usage, not simply spelling, Ansel reveals an irreconcilable ignorance of the intimate relationship between language and cultural values. In her and to social scientists, would Ansel confuse the use of words laden with a history of ideological bias towards segments of our population? Would *The Globe and Mail's* acceptance of the use of these terms be completely less ideological? Ultimately, we can only think what we can speak. Barbara Ansel should do a little more of the former, and a little less of the latter.

John Nevish,
Hamilton

FALSE IMAGES

Your recent story "A golden-brown Christmas" was, in my opinion, a poor choice for the Dec. 24 issue. Canada's weekly news magazine would serve Canadians better by depicting our minor people and not by capitalizing on Hollywood images—especially as we, the Canadian news, face the possible breaking of our country.

Thomas R. Montgomery,
Cheriton, N.S.

PASSAGES

INDUCTED: Into the Baseball Hall of Fame, the first Canadian to be so honored, Ferguson Jenkins, 47, a native of Chatham, Ont. Jenkins, a pitcher, played most of his career for the Chicago Cubs and the Texas Rangers. With a lifetime record of 224 wins and 125 losses, Jenkins also boasted six consecutive 20-win seasons. And he is the only major-league pitcher in history to have walked fewer than 1,000 batters while striking out more than 3,000. The 4-6-3 member of the Baseball Writers' Association of America, who threw balls of fire, gave Jenkins 234 votes. Along with Indians pitcher Gaylord Perry, 52, and hitting prodigy Don Cowie, 45, was also elected by the baseball writers.



DEED: Newfoundland businessman Andrew Crosbie, 57, of center in St. John's, a day before he was to face 30 indictments and 100 charges. Crosbie, the brother of federal Trade Minister John Crosbie, had been the director of more than 50 companies and 3,000 employees at his career's peak, and was a prominent provincial Liberal.

DISAGREED: According to a report in a prominent South African newspaper, Willem de Klerk, 24, the youngest son of President F. W. de Klerk of Klerk, to Brian Adams, 34, a wealthy retired woman who is the daughter of the leader of South Africa's anti-apartheid Labor party, Doug Adams. Neither father, nor the couple, would comment or deny the engagement, but Doug Adams was photographed showing off a diamond ring. They have been

dating for more than a year. From 1980-1982 and 1983, after racial resistance, he joined South African criminal law.

DISAGREED: Actor John Travolta, 36, to actress Kelly Preston, 25, the former fiancée of actor Charlie Sheen. Preston has been married twice. The media news.

BARRIED: From Canada, former Nan ranked as scientist Arthur Haddad, 84, who had flown to Toronto from his home in Illinois to visit his daughter, but who was detained at Pearson International Airport. An immigration advocate, citing a 1990 assessment by the Immigration Act barring anyone suspected of crimes against humanity, said that Haddad had forced prisoners of war to work on V-2 weapons to be used against their own countries.



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IT TAKES STAMINA.

Your marathon needs stamina. Stamina takes a balanced diet, with foods from the 4 food groups outlined in Canada's Food Guide. Milk and Milk products is one of them.

MILK GIVES YOU 15 ESSENTIAL NUTRIENTS.

Milk has a lot of goodness in it. For nutrient value per calorie, it's truly unbeatable. A 250ml glass of 2% Milk delivers

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and

Carbohydrate (12 grams)
plus the following percentages of the Recommended Daily Intake for these vitamins and minerals shown above.

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Vitamin D 44%
Thiamin (Vitamin B-1) 8%
Riboflavin (Vitamin B-2) 25%
Niacin 10%
Vitamin B-6 6%
Folic acid 6%
Vitamin B-12 45%
Pantothenate 11%

Calcium 29%
Phosphorus 22%
Magnesium 14%
Zinc 11%

2% MILK IS NOT HIGH IN FAT.

THE TERM 2% MILK MEANS THE MILK IS 98% FAT FREE BY WEIGHT. BASED ON AVERAGE ENERGY NEEDS, A WOMAN MAY CONSUME 73 GRAMS* OF FAT PER DAY, A MAN, 97 GRAMS*. THE 5 GRAMS OF FAT THAT A GLASS OF

2% MILK CONTAINS IS JUST 1/15TH OF THE WOMAN'S 73 GRAMS OF FAT, AND JUST 1/19TH OF THE MAN'S 97 GRAMS!

*BASED ON 20% OF CALORIES FROM FAT AND THE AVERAGE ENERGY REQUIREMENTS OF 25-49 YEAR OLD MALES AND FEMALES BASED ON MODERATE ACTIVITY ALL STATES BY HEALTH AND WELFARE CANADA, 1990

How To Avoid RUNNING INTO FAT.

It isn't easy. There's a lot of fat around, hidden in many foods. If you snack, it doesn't take much to go over your daily requirements.* So drink Milk.

The 2% fat in a glass of 2% Milk comes

with 15 essential nutrients to help you through your day. It's hard to find an everyday beverage (or food!) which gives you more nutrients per calorie than Milk!

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To keep going in today's marathon of life you surely need a balanced diet, and some time to enjoy it. Make Milk, with energy plus 15 essential nutrients a happy part of your life.

MILK. ENERGY, PLUS 15 Essential Nutrients.

LETTERS

CUTTING OFF AID

Your article on the seasonal collapse of World University Service of Canada, one of Canada's leading aid agencies ("Curly mistakes," Development, Dec. 17), describes a blow to Canada's well-recognized ability to support and implement educational and technical assistance programs in developing nations. The failure of WUSC would strike an equally tragic blow for the universities and colleges across Canada that are involved in organization projects as diverse as student exchange sponsorships, bursar stays for international students and training programs for students from other countries.

Julius Pankas,
Executive Director,
The Clifford & Ler Foundation,
Albionville

STARK CHOICES

I was keenly interested in the statement in your Dec. 10 issue that for Quebec, "early negotiations will not be considered," according to the (Bilgerie-Campbell) commission's mandate, according to the United States and the states' law ("Quebec seeks its own way," Canada) "We in the United States feel a threat



Students program 'imagine' failure

ship and final love for Canada, but although Quebec has announced itself as not of your with Canada, I do not believe there is the slightest doubt in the United States to assume the burden of Quebec. It is reasonable that someone determine the willingness of the United States before assuming that intervention is an option.

Mrs. George B. Johnson,
Buffalo, N.Y.

SENATORS' SELLOUT

Perhaps Alvin Rothman's should reconsider his view of Ottawa's cheap "travel services" ("The Senate may outbid the Senators," Entrepreneur, Dec. 24). All available seats on the new Ottawa Senators hockey team sold out in only 16 days. My feelings are hurt, and I will only be satisfied if Rothman's sales back what he said by noting my issue of Maclean's.

Sean Suberlin,
Nipawa, Ont.

A STRAIGHT SHOOTER

The article describing the opposition to the proposed gas lines ("Up in arms," Law, Dec. 10) was one of only a few to display a reasonably objective view of this sensitive issue. Many gas owners support gas control, but only fair and effective measures. Bill C-80, Bagnall's constant of honest gas owners and, if put into effect, would make criminals out of honest citizens. The article caused by Marc Lévesque was indeed tragic, but it is impossible to believe that it would have been preventable if the bill had been in place.

T. J. Jorg,
Framingham, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should send original and address and return address. Maclean's does not return letters. Send letters to: Maclean's, 1100 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ont. M5S 1A5.

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OPENING NOTES

Linda Evangelista earns a nasty rating, Premier Bob hangs new art, and Madonna ignites a new trend

PRETTY FACE, NASTY TONGUE

When the U.S. fashion bible *W Magazine* compiled its year-end ranking of the world's earliest celebrities, it contained a litany of well-known show-bizs, including pop singer Madonna, former Missiles first lady Sandra Marcos, comedian Roseanne Barr and actress Brigitte Nielsen. And in its up-and-coming category, *W* listed St. Catherine, Ont., supermodel Linda Evangelista. New one of the top five models in the world, she commands a salary well in excess of \$1 million a year, and divides her time between her peak homes in New York City and Paris with her husband, photographer Jared Marlin. Her



Evangelista: stirring hormones

world-renowned face, now framed with a newly dyed blond bobcut, has appeared on the covers of *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar* and *Comptelux* magazines, and she is now stirring hormones in British pop star George Michael's sexy new freedom '90 rock videos. Her sudden rating in *W*'s "hott" category caught some of her colleagues in the fashion industry by surprise. Leading fashion photographer Francesco Scavullo of New York, for one, said that she is actually "difficult to work with." And Evangelista told *Newsweek* that *W*'s staff "can be pretty bitchy themselves." Still, at a recent party in New York, when a dagger *W* magazine's executive approached her, she allegedly declared: "I say all hell!" And although she denied it happened, the up-and-comer would seem to have arrived.

The 'Roast of the Vanities'

Ever the coming that Kenneth Taylor displayed as Canadian ambassador to Iran in 1980, when he received an American hostage, failed to release the Iranian—and released—prisoners with whom he parted last week in New York City. The affair, in celebration comedian Joe Adam's 40th birthday, was nicknamed the Roast of the Vanities. Among the gathering of New York's powerful elite were newly divorced Donald Trump and his second wife, Trish, actress Marie Maglin, sex chat Luana Plascencia, former Miss America and Billie Jean King City official Bern Meyerson, and George Steinbrenner, the disgraced owner of the New York Yankees. Taylor, who is now president of the Canadian Society in New York, earned just behind comedian Joe Rivers, who joked: "There are tensions everywhere," Taylor, a longtime friend of Adam's, sat near



Adam and Taylor: 'Tensions everywhere'

Trump and Maglin, who dined her across-coated fingers into Trump's mouth. All this was a bit much even for the well-traveled Taylor who declared, "This is over-dressed dinner. It could only happen in New York." Steinbrenner to his right:

THE DONALD DUCKS OUT

Donald Trump is no longer "Mr. Big Stuff." The *Real Estate* rock band *Previous Model* made a video of that song in November, with Trump in the title role. *Real Estate* manager Pat Patton said that Trump agreed to do it if the group gave \$10,000 to charity. Trump, said Patton, saw the deal version in late November, after reports first circulated confirming his troubled finances. Asked Patton: "I think he wanted a lower profile. So he told us, '\$10,000 is not a Trump donation,' and asked for \$250,000." As a result, the video, out this week, is Trumpless.

THE POLITICS OF ART

One of Bob Paul's first acts after being elected premier of Ontario last September was to order the removal of two paintings from the Queen's Park legislative building's council chamber, where the cabinet meets. The offending canvases, on loan to the government from the Hudson's Bay Co., depict the 19th-century British hero Horatio Nelson and his famous victory over Napoleon's navy at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. In Premier Bob's view, the Ontario-based New Democratic Party

is "a bunch of British

bastards, vagabonds



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Oldly crass: women and children

seems to be a negative symbol because of Canada's ambivalent historic role. As a result, for the past two months the two men with the colors' room have been busy. But last week, the chamber received new artworks—portraits of women and children by native artists Norma Morassut and Daphne Odjig. The reason the premier's office chose those portraits is subjects almost all of the 20th portraits hanging in Queen's Park are of men, and the NDP wanted to achieve a better balance between the sexes. A clear case of an artifying life.

SEXY DRESS



Madonna: more like it hot

Madonna may have played in the public spotlight part by her constantly changing new trends. Now, her latest contribution to the consumer's pop culture could elevate so-called cross-dressing into a sweeping bid. Her millions of girlfriends are about to learn that Terry Ward, her current lover, who once starred in her scandalous and widely banned video, *Justify My Love*, likes to dress up in women's clothing and is a popular item in gay-oriented magazines. A growing wave of cross-dressing could also benefit from two new star-filled movies now being planned. In a remake of one of Hollywood's classic films, the 1959 comedy *Some Like It Hot*, heartthrob Tom Cruise and comrade Michael Keaton will appear in male clothes. The movie will also star Madonna in the role made famous by her rival, Marilyn Monroe. As well, in *Operation Pipework*, movie-bound hard-boiled Sprinkler Machine and Arnold Schwarzenegger will turn up as police officers who go undercover to solve a crime while they are dressed in drag. For his part, celebrated novelist Jerry Kosinski, whose books revolve in kinky sex, told *Madness* that he is not surprised by all the dressing up that is about to sweep through Hollywood. "That is our natural reaction to life," he said. Schwarzenegger costumes is safer than changing beds.

AN ABSENCE WITH MALICE

As a member of a Senate committee holding hearings on the government's new abortion bill, Liberal Senator Stanley Hladik has earned a reputation as a hard-core opponent of liberalization. But when he subjected the entire upper chamber to a scathing attack on the Senate's handling of the bill in the middle of last month's debate over the act, he occupied both Liberal and Tory members. Then, when his 12 committee colleagues had heard quite enough of his views, they found a way to strike back. After discovering that Hladik will be in Poland on Jan. 15 to receive an honorary degree, they swiftly scheduled the rest of their hearings for the week of his absence. Clearly, their loss will be Poland's gain.

THE AIRING OF AN AFFAIR



Copps: a love romantic affair

After a Quebec City radio show last broadcast raised eyebrows about Sheila Copps' romantic involvement with Lawrence Casaro, then a local member of Quebec's National Assembly, the Liberal MP must be the answers herself. Copps, who separated from her husband last year, told visitors of CIBC morning host Robert G.

But will we read it in our lifetime?

When *Quebec* Anis Nin asked University of Montreal professor Daphne Odjig in 1975 to be her biographer, she says, it was because they were "kindred spirits." Nin, whose memoirs with writer Mary Miller was the subject of the film *Henry & June*, died in 1997, and Odjig, who has an ongoing relationship to Nin, has spent each summer living in her subject's old home in California to do research. Her has also received about \$50,000 in grants from the federal government and private sources for the project. But after 15 years, she has still not completed the book. She told *Madness*: "The more time about being the official biographer I don't have to rush."

let's show that she has indeed been a frequent and welcome guest at Casaro's city home near the provincial capital. But it may be more difficult for Copps to return the hospitality of the MHA, who has since become Quebec's conservative minister. She has been living for the past few months with her mother in her Montreal home, and says she has no children. She is also the older of the two Copps daughters, but herself playing chapters in the new Copps, who separated from her husband last year, told visitors of CIBC morning host Robert G.



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AN AMERICAN VIEW



The menace of morality crusaders

BY FRED BRUNING

On Jan. 31, 1993, Nancy Craven lost control of her automobile on a Mexican road. The car, a Renault 19 (not for safety belts, noted several times, and Craven landed head-on in a ditch. Her heart stopped for at least 12 minutes but, thanks to paramedics, Nancy Craven survived.

Or did she? Decried as a victim for an extended period, Craven's knees layed permanently into limbo. Her body became rigid, her knees and arms locked into a fetal position. So tightly locked were her limbs that firefighters cut her wrists. She had seizures and vomited. On occasion Craven opened her eyes but did not recognize family members. Doctors said that she had no capacity for thought or emotion. Neurologists came by way of a tube attached to her stomach.

None? Or just lying? An awful question, but three years after the accident, Nancy's parents, Joyce and Joe Craven, could not escape the answer. Determined to end their daughter's misery, the Cravens sought a court order allowing removal of the stomach tube. Even as reality grew less better than the idealized, hopeless existence their daughter endured, the Cravens refused they declared, Nancy would never agree.

But the matter was not easily settled. First, Nancy was a group of strangers came forward to argue against the family. Activists, human rights groups, abortion opponents and the State of Missouri fought the Cravens, and fought their hard, winning that case when it barely can be recognized as such, life—like life—must be preserved.

At last, the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, which in a modified decision last June, ruled that Americans are entitled to refuse medical treatment, but allowed states to decide if patients have made their wishes sufficiently clear. Opponents claimed that Nancy Craven never expressed herself consciously, but a Missouri probate judge declared otherwise.

Fred Bruning is a writer with *Novelty* in New York.

We are a nation of numskulls—of folks who act first and think later, or, whenever possible, don't think at all

and last month, hospital authorities discovered the feeding apparatus. Twelve days later, Nancy Craven stopped breathing. She was 28.

Knowing Nancy to only a family car, there remains no question that we made the choice she would want. Joyce and Joe Craven said so. Nancy, we will always love you and hold your memory in our hearts.

Opponents did not exactly denigrate themselves as the family's enemy of good. At one point before Nancy Craven died, doctors entered the hospital hoping to retract the stomach tube—a roadmap, and unsuccessful, indicate what might be called guerrilla medicine. Upon Nancy's death, activists expressed concern for the document but continued for her parents, whose anguish, evidently, they regarded as trivial.

I have no sympathy for a family who solves their problems by starving their daughter to death," said the Rev. Joseph Foreman, a Presbyterian minister and activist leader. "Even a dog in Missouri cannot be starved to death."

One is tempted to imagine what diploma would be the good parent's spiritual base lies. Who is he—or any associate of his—to accuse the Cravens of merely "solving a prob-

lem" by treating the woman who? Where is the cross of Christianity does the pastor find license for so twisted a scenario? If love and mercy prompted the act of opponents, it was a tough sort of love, indeed a crueling kind of mercy.

Confronted by what Joe Craven called a "lose-lose" situation, how would the family's adversaries have chosen? Either Nancy Craven would have languished for years in a condition described by doctors as "a persistent vegetative state" or died for values far less. Are the lawyers' commands who attacked the Craven's integrity as very certain—a perfectly common-sense—that they would have acted differently if a child of theirs lay bleeds in a hospital bed, limbs contorted, head dragging into her belly?

Really, we are too much with these pompous souls, and they too much with an Unfortunally, however, those who belittled the Cravens reveal something essential and conspiring about our character. We have become a nation of pontificators and second-guessers and, sometimes, of moral bullies. To make matters worse, we also are a nation of numskulls—of folks who act first and think later, or, whenever possible, don't think at all. The combination of the two—the arrogance and the ignorance—makes for a dangerous mix.

Around here, we do not cherish discourse in the usual sense. Conversations here are extended, not as individuals, but as a group. "Who said" says the voice of America. "I see," the nation replies. Despite the force of information set before us, we mostly sample the gummy bears and baroque chaos—entertainment, gossip, crime, catastrophe. On Las Vegas, we are experts. When it comes to current events, we can't bear the business. Rarely do we evaluate our principles or train their origins. We believe, therefore we are.

The results are everywhere—in violence against abortion centers, in hollow messages about "million" recipients, in attacks on ethnic traditions, in demands for further laws, in a criminal justice, in our designs with the outside world. When George Bush swapped his fingers and bled the first 200,000 troops to South Africa, he wasn't being merely provocative or isolationist. More to the point, the President was being egregiously dishonest. He is a liar. And so are we. Rarely do we evaluate our principles or train their origins. We believe, therefore we are.

We are liars for false notions, badly stated. That is the lesson of the Craven case. When many multi ways that it leaves "life" under all circumstances, the rest of us should quickly go to red alert. All circumstances. Do the patients speak out against an impending disaster in the Persian Gulf? Do they oppose the death penalty? Do they demand more money for drug rehabilitation, or do they demand more in their scheme of things? Do they complain about our duty war in Nicaragua? Have they wondered about our backs to El Salvador? Being polite is an extremely tall order. How do the advocates measure up?

or LaPere hosted the programming's down citizens in Saint John with two or three people as each of Montreal, Toronto, Calgary, Yellowknife, N.W.T., and Vancouver. It frequently evoked raw emotion from participants. Semi-retired Calgary businessman Stan Boser, for one, declared that English should be the country's official language. Said Boser: "We all

first stage at least, people have got to say what they think."

While citizens discussed issues that ranged from free trade, the recession and Medicare issues to pollution and the Persian Gulf, the topic that yielded the most discussion—and emotion—was the possibility of Quebec's seceding. At one meeting in Halifax on Thursday,

language meeting in Saint John, Father Sheehan said, "A Canada without Quebec is not Canada. It will no longer be our country."

Similar concerns arose over the place of natives in Confederation. Said one participant at the French-language meeting: "Indians have been like leprosy. As long as they didn't ask for anything or make any fuss, they were great." For his part, Boser noted, "We took the land from these people." He added: "Maybe they should take it back and sort out this mess for us."

The forum will next move to Quebec, likely early in February. There, Spicer said, its objective will be to complement—but not compete with—Quebec's own formal Bélanger-Campbell commission. Later next month, it will visit British Columbia and the Yukon. In March, the commission's destination is Ontario and Newfoundland and, in April, the other western provinces. The final stop is the Northwest Territories. Findings from these meetings will be blended with telephoned comments and statements made at smaller forum-sponsored meetings across Canada.

One report that will likely pan the others is what Spicer refers to as his Ottawa "war room," will come from Saint John nurse Doreen. Said Doreen, following her attendance at one of last week's public meetings: "This was a good discussion. I think I'm going to prefer my men, my wife and their kids, we'll have a meeting of our own and send in our comments." Clearly, Spicer and his co-commissioners hope that a million other Canadians will also cast aside their traditional reserve to speak from the heart about their country's future. From their vast compounding of comments, the commissioners will have to extract a voice both fresh and compelling enough to breathe new life into the nation's faltering body politic.

GUEN ALLEN in Saint John



Caribb (right) awaiting interviewers, attempting to hear from a million Canadians

speak English out here and we think it's great." Anne Berman, a graduate student at the Université de Montréal, declared "Quebec is not ready to be speaking anyone." And least Anne King, a trucker from Yellowknife, asked "What are they talking about? We are the first people of Canada. We were here first." Still, Spicer said that the string of voices, however fresh, was both timely and welcome. He added: "It's not a matter of love and roses. It's a matter of saying what you think—and in the

25-year-old Dalhousie University history student Paul Webster said: "If Canada did break up, I would use my country destroyed. I would feel like a refugee in my own country." The previous day in Saint John, economist agent Sewell expressed his fear that a divided Canada would join the United States. Added a cheerful Sewell: "I don't want to become an American. I never did." Said University of New Brunswick history professor Thomas Coskwa: "I would feel a personal sense of loss." As a French-

an effort to determine the aspirations of Ontarians and other Canadians. It will produce an interview report by March 21.

In Montreal, a constitutional task force will start a round of public hearings on Jan. 31 to discuss national unity and related issues. That group, chaired by University of Manitoba political scientist William Frenkel, has already been in contact with other provincial commissions. Said the chairman: "At this stage, we are really sharing organizational thoughts—such as, how are you doing this? We're not at the idea-sharing stage yet."

In Alberta, the Constitutional Reform Task Force has already held round table discussions with experts and will release a discussion paper this month that is intended to focus the debate on public language. Meanwhile, New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna has appointed two cabinet members, two backbenchers and six private citizens to a constitutional commission that will consult privately with groups and individuals in that province. No deadline has been set for the commission to deliver its report.

In British Columbia, Premier William Vander Zanden has appointed a constitutional adviser and formed a special cabinet committee to help his government deal with the issue. But so far, he has set no announced plans for public participation.

In addition, at least two other, private constitutional commissions will join the search for solutions. A six-member Canadian Bar Association committee will already be set up to amend the Constitution without what association president Wayne Chapman called "the acrimony which two often dominate constitutional debate in Canada." And the Ottawa-based Assembly of First Nations is establishing its own constitutional commission to survey views about the country's future among native Canadians. As the debate over the country's future again heats up, there will clearly be no shortage of opinions—and rhetoric—in the months to come.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

COAST-TO-COAST COMMISSIONS

While the Ottawa Forum on Canada's Future solicited its survey of public views over the coming weeks, other commissions are also soliciting the ideas of Canadians about its constitutional future.

In Quebec, the Bélanger-Campbell commission on the province's political and constitutional future is resuming hearings after a Christmas break on Jan. 15. In six days of meetings, it will hear from 15 experts on different aspects of the Constitution. It will also meet groups of young people in Quebec City before writing a report that is expected to be released towards the end of March.

In Ontario, a select committee, named Dec. 19 by MPP Premier Bob Rae, held its first meeting on Jan. 9. The 13-member committee will hold several hearings in Ontario, and perhaps in other provinces, at

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Making Atlantic waves

The NDP's fortunes are rising in the East

As anniversary parties go, it was a smashing success. On Nov. 30, more than 450 Nova Scotia New Democrats Party members crowded into the downtown Clarendon Hall to celebrate Alex McDonough's 33 years as party leader. For McDonough, the event was a special significance: Two years earlier, she had been at the low point of her political career after her party finished a humiliating third and took just two seats in the September, 1988, provincial election—now by the Progressive Conserva-

tives. The NDP is riding an unprecedented surge of public support. Just recently, the East has not been fertile ground for the New Democrats. The last round of federal and provincial elections left the party with no Atlantic members in the Commons and only the two Nova Scotia seats in the region's old provincial legislature. But against a backdrop of national cynicism towards the mainstream Liberals and Conservatives—and with the federal vote leading in public opinion polls—the party is now gaining members and support in Nova Scotia,

times. Another sign of the party's robust health emerged during the Dec. 10 federal by-election in New Brunswick's Southwest riding, when NDP candidate Doug Cowart took almost 40 per cent of the vote to finish a strong second to federal Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien. Previously, a recent poll conducted by *Opinion* showed that the tide has swept into second place in New Brunswick. At 13 per cent, it is well behind Frank McKenna's Liberals, who held all 58 legislative seats and enjoy 45 per cent support, but the party is just ahead of the previously dynamic Tories, who are now favored by 18 per cent of the electorate. And there are signs of life a swell from the Prince Edward Island seat, which, although it has never won a place in the legislature, is carrying out a spirited three-way campaign for its vacant leadership.

Still, the analysts, critics or party members consider the NDP's new strength to be an indication that its social-economic policies are gaining support in the Atlantic provinces. Indeed, the party seems to be capitalizing on the same cynicism towards established politicians that gave Ontario's vote its first electoral victory on Sept. 6. Explained Keith Newman, a director of research at *Opinion*: "What we are seeing is not so much a move to the right as a move away from the other parties." Added Nova Scotia Industry Minister David Cameron, who is one of four candidates for the coast provincial Conservative party leadership: "Whether it is Alex McDonough in Nova Scotia or Bob Rae in Ontario, people are voting NDP as a protest against the current political system, not because they believe in their policies."

So far, that shift has been most noticeable in Nova Scotia, where an outbreak of patronage scandal has contributed to the unpopularity of the governing Conservatives.

At the same time, the Nova Scotia Liberals have been unable to gain from the Tory setbacks. One reason has been the embarrassing publicity surrounding the disclosure last fall of a secretly administered Liberal trust fund that led leader Vincent MacLean \$47,000 annually on top of his \$62,500 salary. MacLean cancelled the arrangement immediately, but the accident hurt party morale.

On the other hand, significant levels of support have shifted to the NDP and to the hard-working, popular McDonough, who represents Halifax/Dartmouth in the legislature. "People have decided that there is no difference between the old-line parties," declared McDonough, "and that neither the Tories nor the



McDonough, Newman (right): the trick is to turn soaring polls into support at the ballot box

ives. But, on the night of her anniversary celebration, McDonough 40, and that she had never felt better. Boasting her agents was the sense, shared by New Democrats coast to coast, that the NDP's fortunes were in the main. Thus, last month, a poll released by St. John's, Nfld.-based *Charlottetown Research Ltd.* showed that 29 per cent of Nova Scotia's voters vote for the NDP in an election, compared with 22 per cent for the Liberals and 13 per cent for the governing Tories. Acknowledged McDonough to the wife of that additional sign of her party's growing popularity: "I would be lying if I did not admit the whole thing is a little weird."

Indeed, throughout the Atlantic provinces,

New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. At the same time, New Democrats are striving to ensure that the increased popularity does not evaporate in election approach. Said McDonough: "People consider us a viable alternative to the other parties. We have to seize the opportunity." Added Andrew Sheehy, a political science professor at Dalhousie University: "The big question is whether the NDP can turn increased public support into gains at the ballot box."

The party recorded one gain in Newfoundland last month when its candidate, lawyer Jack Smeets, won a provincial by-election in St. John's East, a riding previously held by the Conservatives.

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- 2) "My fellow Canadians: Write an address to the nation expressing your views on three major issues facing Canada as it moves into the 21st century.
- 3) The dismantling of the Berlin Wall. Write an essay commenting on the significance of the historic event.
- 4) Write a '90s update on equality between the sexes: what has been accomplished and what remains to be done?
- 5) Write an essay arguing your point of view on one of the following questions:
 - (a) Can athletes be professionals and Che athletes?
 - (b) The coming '90s: fact or fiction? Why?
 - (c) Professional athletes: has big business destroyed the notion of the athlete as hero?

CONTEST RULES

- The 1991 Diane Thompson Student Writing Contest is open to all students under the age of 20, registered full or part-time in a secondary school program in Canada. Students will bring their entry (maximum length: 1,000 words) to school and submit it to their English teacher or school principal. Submissions must be typed, double-spaced and stapled in the upper left-hand corner. Handwritten entries will not be accepted.
- Submissions must not exceed 1,000 words and must be legible. Double-spaced and stapled in the upper left-hand corner. Handwritten entries will not be accepted.
- A contest entry must be placed in the front of each entry, listing the student's name, address, telephone number, age and grade as well as the school name and address, telephone number, and teacher's name.
- Entries are to be sent to the contest administrator, who will be notified by teachers or other adults. Entries must be submitted exclusively to the 1991 Diane Thompson Student Writing Contest. All entries become the property of Maclean's or CTE Program.
- Receipt of submissions will be acknowledged only if accompanied by a return-address envelope as indicated with the entry. PLEASE REPLY TO: CTEP, 20 YOUR SUBMISSION. Manuscripts will not be returned.

DEADLINE: Entries must be postmarked no later than February 28, 1991.

MAIL TO: Maclean's In-Class Program Writing Contest, 777 Bay Street, 8th floor, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1A7.

JUDGING: Entries for evaluation of submissions will include: originality, clarity of thought and presentation, consistency and accuracy, effective style and use of language, and suitability for publication. The judging panel includes Maclean's Editor Kevin Doyle, Maclean's In-Class Program's representatives, and Canadian Council of Teachers of English (CCTE) representatives. Judging will be chaired by the CCTE.

CONTEST RESULTS:

Only winners will be notified, by mail, in May, 1991. Depending on space availability and suitability for publication, the first-place essay may be published in *Maclean's* during the summer of 1991. The judging committee reserves the right not to award any of the prizes if the quality of the submissions is deemed unsatisfactory.

For more information on the Writing Contest or Maclean's In-Class Program, please call (416) 596-5496 or (416) 596-5514.

Liberals lost the answer to their problems."

Whatever the explanation, the NDP is clearly gaining strength throughout the region. Meanwhile, in the Nova Scotia party has soared to more than 15,000, from 3,500 at the beginning of 1990. In New Brunswick, many political analysts say that New Leader Blaise's War has emerged as the most effective critic of the McNas government. And in Newfoundland, provincial party leader Cleophas Newhook, a former Anglican clergyman, said that winning the Dec. 10 St. John's by-election was an important morale boost for his party, which held two House of Assembly seats before being shut out at the 1989 provincial election. Added Newhook: "Newfoundland politics are based on personality not ideology. They are very volatile. That makes it possible—all the factors come together at once—for what occurred in Ontario to take place here."

On the federal level, the party's gains in the region have been less impressive. In spite of Corneau's strong showing in the Beauport by-election, the federal star has only 25-percent support in Atlantic Canada compared with its 30-percent approval rating in the rest of the country, according to an Angus Reid-Stratford poll released last month. That same poll placed the Liberals at 59 per cent in the region and the governing Conservatives at 14 per cent. But NDP leaders point out that, compared with the party's provincial showings at the Atlantic provinces—in June, 1989, for one, it stood at a mere 10 per cent in the polls—the current standing represents a substantial improvement. Need Barbara Jack, a liaison officer between the federal and provincial



Tory Corneau: "I've protest against the system."

and the Nova Scotia party: "People in Atlantic Canada used to think a vote for the NDP was a wasted vote. The win in Ontario has changed that perception."

In both Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, there will be opportunities soon to test the NDP's appeal. Newhook says that he is now considering whether to run in a provincial by-election at eastern Newfoundland's Trinity North riding, expected to be called in the next

few months. In Nova Scotia, the NDP's first priority is to mount a strong campaign for the by-election in Halifax/Atlantic—which must be called by September—to fill the seat vacated by former premier John Buchanan, appointed to the Senate last September. At the same time, the McDaniel-led party is preparing for the next provincial general election, which some observers say may be called within months of the Ontario Feb. 9 leadership convention. The NDP is already attracting rising awareness in rural areas, where it has been least successful in the past, and lining up a slate of candidates.

Critics claim that the NDP's overvalued popularity in Atlantic Canada will be short-lived. Declared Nova Scotia Liberal Leader MacLean, for one: "It is unrealistic to think that this ideological concern [over]s the traditional parties, which is the basis for their strength, will remain forever." But McDaniel counters that the Liberals in Ontario were also talking confidently last summer—before being crushed by the NDP. Like other New Democrats across the region, she is waiting to see whether the shock waves that arose in Ontario will continue to wash through Atlantic Canada.

JOHN DEMONT in Halifax

THE TIGHT RACE FOR THE TOP JOB

At the end of each working day, Nova Scotia Premier Roger (aron) carefully straps on shoulder pads as his aide escorts him to his car. He has had these pads since he was 12 years old, and he says he will be with a sign of relief. That is when the Nova Scotia Conservative party plans to choose a new leader as a permanent replacement for former premier John Buchanan—appointed to the Senate on Sept. 22 by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney—ending Blaise's caretaker role as the province's chief. During his brief tenure, Conservative fortunes have been at rock bottom. And the party's leadership race has so far failed to generate the enthusiasm that the Tories need in order to take them out of their last-place position in the polls before the next provincial election, which must be held no later than 1993.

Indeed, the first declared candidate for the party and provincial leadership was an endorsement to many Tories: Michael Zerkow, a former civil servant who had shaken the Buchanan government with allegations of widespread political patronage

But Zerkow withdrew in November, citing a lack of funds. Since then, the contest has become a tight race, with three serious challengers promising to put a new face on the beleaguered party. Among candidates, former academic Clair Callaghan, a green little chance of winning. And Joseph Stewart, a New Glasgow businessman and Tory supporter, noted: "The party wants and needs a change from the status quo."

That doors may doom the prospects of at least one hopeful, Tourism Minister Roland Thornhill, 55, who founded third in the party's last leadership convention, in 1971. A self-reliant in December by St. John's, NDP-based Canadian Research Ltd. gave him a slight



Zerkow: A caretaker role in the chair

edge in popularity among Tory supporters. But critics say that Thornhill—who faces an RCMP investigation into allegations, over a decade old, that he accepted illegal benefits from four banks—lacks the reformist image that the Tories are seeking.

But the other contenders have also hit stumbling blocks. Mike Thomas McFadden, 45, the early favorite, appears to have lost some momentum after he resigned as treasury secretary

to concentrate on his campaign. Last week, McFadden, who says that he supports centralized electricity generation in principle, provoked criticism in the coal-producing province by questioning the costs involved with the province's plans for coal-fired megaprojects. Meanwhile, Industry Minister Donald Corneau, 54, has the support of 13 of the 27 Tory caucus members. But Corneau's image was tarnished after one television reported last month that a company he was helping to a close friend had been awarded a \$5-million contract from a firm to which the minister had awarded a multi-million-dollar government oil package. Said Dalhousie University political science professor Andrew Hogg: "These charges have made it hard for Corneau to come out swinging as the party's white knight." Indeed, whichever of the three wins, he will find a daunting task to restore voter confidence in a discredited party laid low by scandal.

J. D.

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PEOPLE

MEMORIES OF BRUTALITY

Actress Michelle St. John says that being "whipped around" in her role as murder victim Helen Betty Osborne was draining and gave her nightmares. A group of white men raped and stabbed Osborne, a teenage native, in 1971 in reality divided the Pra-



St. John, growing up with racial prejudice

irie. St. John, 33, who recently finished shooting the CBC TV miniseries about the case, *Conspiracy of Silence*, said that while growing up in Toronto's suburbs, she also experienced racial hatred. Quoted in the 1990 *Quebec* award-winning "I got beat up all the time. Anyone with pigment in their skin was considered, pardon my language, a nigger."



Estefan, with surgery and physiotherapy, is "fresh outside"

A remarkable revival

P-singer Gloria Estefan says that although she has "a fresh outlook on life," she is now a complete backseat driver. Last March, she suffered a broken back when a speeding tractor trailer crashed into her tour bus. After painful surgery and exhausting physiotherapy, Estefan has made a miraculous recovery. Later this month, she will release her first album since the accident, *Into the Light*, and she is preparing for a world tour in March. Still Estefan, 33, "Sometimes big, big vehicles passing me make me nervous. But I guess that's natural."

Perfection

Until last week, an unprecedented event had over advanced seven perfect scores of 10 at a world championship event. This came Sylvie Frochette. At a competition in Paris, Australia, the Montreal native won the gold medal and set a world record for the highest-voting score. Traditionally, judges comment on her heavy makeup, display tasteful smiles and use jerky hand movements. But perhaps Frochette, 25, with her "elegant" style, has changed all that. Said Frochette: "I have tried to get away from the artificial look I hear people to know what my emotions are."



Frochette: no more jerky movements

IN A NEW BIG LEAGUE

At only 24, Montreal native Shannon Dugan has managed to secure an enviable career perch on Parliament Hill. After a year in a parliamentary assistant, the former professional hockey player was recently named as a staff officer for Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien. Dugan says that Chrétien is the second-biggest public figure with whom he has worked since trying out for the Los Angeles Kings in 1988. Soon after he arrived at the team's full training camp, Dugan noticed that he had been assigned jersey number 50. Said Dugan: "The higher the number, the more likely it is you will get cut. My only consolation was Wayne Gretzky. He said: 'If you're going down, I guess I'm going with you.' " The Great One wears number 99.

Dancing but not romancing

Ballet star Rudolf Nureyev once pledged to retire when he reached 50. But at a robust 62, Nureyev says that he is "delighted to be working." He is on tour with Nureyev and Company, dancing in two of its six routines, two of

which he also choreographed. After the show's exclusive Canadian engagement in Toronto this week, Nureyev and Company will tour the United States until the end of March. Then, he has still more plans to dance, produce and choreograph in Europe. Said the indefatigable Nureyev: "I'm

Nureyev: robust bachelor



probably doing a host 150 performances a year now." The handsome Siberian, who defected to the United States in 1961, now says that he has, in fact, no plans to retire from his lifelong career—nor to abandon lifelong bachelorhood. Added Nureyev: "Romance? It's not something you plan, but I still plan on staying a bachelor forever."

A SOVIET CRACKDOWN

With guns blazing, Soviet paratroopers fought their way into Lithuania's defence department headquarters outside Vilnius last Friday, inside the Baltic republic's capital of Vilnius, tanks and armoured vehicles took up positions in the streets as soldiers stormed the main press centre and arrested dozens of young Lithuanians. The events occurred just one day after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a stern warning to the secessionist Lithuanian parliament. Declared Gorbachev: "The people demand the restoration of the constitutional order. They demand the imposition of presidential rule." And in what seemed to be a further demonstration of Gorbachev's will, Soviet troops struck in Vilnius again early on Sunday, Jan. 12. Witnesses said that tanks moved into the city at top speed at about 2 a.m. Then, soldiers occupied the city's radio and television building and forced both services off the air shortly before 2 a.m. The last TV images showed a crowd pressing around the television tower while submachine guns pointed in the air behind them. Several people were reported killed.

For the past two months, legislatures in all three independent-thinking Baltic republics have repeatedly voiced fears that a Kremlin crackdown was imminent. Last week, those fears were borne out. Aside from Lithuania, the Kremlin also deployed Soviet paratroopers in Estonia, Latvia, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Ukraine. Officially, the government took these actions to round up desk rustlers and army deserters. But Gorbachev's tough stance in Lithuania strengthened critics' claims that Kremlin conservatives had persuaded him to use harsh measures to try to stop the nation's disintegration. Some of them even said that the crackdown was an

IN A SHOW OF FORCE, MOSCOW DEPLOYS TROOPS TO LITHUANIA AND SIX OTHER REBEL REPUBLICS

Internationally imposed at a time when Western attention was focused on the Persian Gulf. The action also cast a shadow over U.S.-Soviet relations and a superpower summit scheduled for next month in Moscow. Said Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a foreign policy expert at Washington's important Brookings Institution: "There is a sense that while things are maybe not moving into a deep freeze, we may have passed a high water mark in our relations with the Soviets."

The first episode of last week's violence in Vilnius took place three days after the solemn resignation of Lithuanian prime minister Kazimieras Pranaskevicius. The independence-minded leader, who took power last March, announced that she was resigning after the republican parliament suspended an air cruise in fuel jetties that her cabinet had voted as a day earlier. The planned price increases of up to 200 per cent had sparked mass protests in the streets. As well, thousands of Communist-era veterans, Russians, who say that they fear discrimination as an independent Lithuania, held rallies to demand direct rule by Moscow. At week's end, the Moscow Tass news agency

staged a series of strikes to force the republican government to respect Soviet law. Last Thursday the republican parliament elected economist Albertas Skemauskas replace Pranaskevicius. The 40-year-old centrist said that if there is no open Soviet aggression, he will try to develop Lithuania-Soviet relations on the basis of full independence for his homeland. But on that same day, Gorbachev sent a telegram to the republican parliament declaring that "the situation in Lithuania is reaching a dead end." And less than 24 hours later, the crackdown in Vilnius appeared to shift stages of successful diplomacy.

In announcing troop deployments to the seven republics last week, Kremlin officials said that resistance to the military draft had reached unacceptable levels. They added that only 30 per cent of conscripts had reported in Georgia and 13 per cent in Lithuania. But Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar stated that Moscow was deliberately seeking confrontation by sending in the troops. "The real reason is not the draft," he said. "The real reason is to suppress the independence of the republics." And Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis said that if Gorbachev carried out his threat to impose direct rule by his republic, it would amount to "occupation enacted by the president of a foreign country." He added "This is the same presidential rule as in Kuwait."

Meanwhile, the parliament of the southern republic of Georgia rejected a Gorbachev offer



Lithuanians confronting Soviet tanks: Moscow threatened to impose direct rule

to withdraw republican police from the troubled territory of South Ossetia. There, recent violence between predominantly Christian Georgians and mostly Muslim Ossetians resulted in four deaths. The parliament passed a resolution that any Kremlin attempt to remove the police by force would be "an effective declaration of war." Gorbachev said last month issued a decree that nullified a recent Ossetian claim of autonomy, as well as the Georgian-lapsed state of emergency in that region.

International reaction to the Soviet troop deployments was swift. U.S. officials, who have consistently opposed Gorbachev's even while his domestic popularity has declined, issued a pointed criticism. Said presidential spokesman Martin Frowster: "The United States urges the U.S.S.R. to cease attempts at intimidation and turn back to negotiations that are conducted free of pressure and the use of force." Some U.S. analysts said that Soviet arrest, at the same time that Bush is preoccupied with the Gulf crisis, could delay the superpower summit scheduled for Feb. 11 to 13 in Moscow. Meanwhile, in Ottawa, External Affairs Minister Clark called on Soviet ambassador Mikhail Gorbachev to condemn the Soviet crackdown against Lithuania, warning him that further military actions would have "grave consequences" for Canadian-Soviet relations. The European Community, NATO and the British and Polish governments also expressed con-

cern that the use of force was not yet ended. Still, Gorbachev was endorsement from an unlikely source: Edward Shevardnadze, the foreign minister who resigned last month claiming that the Soviet Union was heading for dictatorship, defended the deployment of paratroopers to the republics. "This is a simple desire to introduce order, because it is impossible to live under conditions of chaos and anarchy," he said. "It is chaos and anarchy that can lead to a dictatorship."

At week's end, tense Lithuania security forces patrolled the government building's corridors as a signpost of a Soviet assault. On Friday, about 3,000 anti-Soviet gathered late into the night under floodlights, waving Lithuanian, green and red republican flags and singing. But at the same time, a spokesman for Lithuania's small pro-Moscow Communist party, which advocates keeping the republic in the Soviet fold, announced at a news conference that it was forming a "National Salvation Committee" ready to "take power into its own hands." Gorbachev acknowledges that the 1940 occupation of Lithuania and the other Baltic states was illegal. But as last week's events demonstrated, the Soviet Union is not prepared to renounce that annexation without a fight.

ANDREW BILSKI with MALCOLM GRANT in Moscow and ANASTAS MARGENTZ in Washington

World Notes

A CRUSHED COUP

In Port-au-Prince, Haiti, the army quickly put down a coup attempt by Michel Lefort, a former interior minister under ousted dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier (Baby Doc). Duvalier, Lefort and about 15 armed accomplices had stormed the presidential palace in an attempt to prevent expelled Russian Orthodox priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the homeless winner in last month's presidential election, from taking office on Feb. 7. Following the coup attempt, as many as 70 people were killed as angry mobs rioted and looted in Haiti's capital.

CANADIAN SANCTUARY

Soviet foreign ministry spokesman Vitaly Churkin denounced the Canadian Embassy in Moscow for harboring a man who he said is a "gaily member." Oleg Gerasimov, a 35-year-old Ukrainian Jew, entered the embassy on Jan. 2. He was convicted in 1988 for the murder of a soldier, but the conviction was overturned on appeal last January. Prosecutors have since requested the case. Canadian officials have allowed Gerasimov to stay at the embassy on a day-by-day basis, but have not granted him official refuge.

A POLISH GAFF

Polish authorities announced that they would not charge Canadian businessman Stanislaw Tymoski with slandering but they are still considering a lesser charge of libel. Tymoski, 42, who finished second to Leszko Walski in a presidential runoff last month, is under investigation for alleging that former prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki was guilty of treason for offering to sell government-owned companies to foreigners at bargain prices.

GUATEMALA'S NEW PRESIDENT

Benigno Jerez Jarama won election as Guatemala's new president. Jarama, 45, who defected newspaper publisher Jorge Carpio, faces major problems, including 41 per cent unemployment and the war between leftist guerrillas and the military, a conflict that has claimed 180,000 lives in the past three decades.

SHOWDOWN IN SOMALIA

Fighting raged in Somalia's embattled capital of Mogadishu as rebels reported a peace proposal that would allow President Mohamed Siad Barre to retain power. Since the crisis started Mogadishu on Dec. 30, about 1,500 people have been killed. A rebel spokesman said that he was calling on "apologists" of cholera, typhoid and other epidemics.

AFTER MIDNIGHT

ALLIED TROOPS
AWAIT ORDERS TO
ATTACK SHOULD
IRAQ FAIL TO MEET
THE UN DEADLINE

The countdown to war was almost complete. With less than three days to go before the United Nations-enforced deadline of Jan. 15, UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar met Iraqi ambassador Saddam Hussein in Baghdad in an urgent final attempt to avert catastrophe by persuading him to withdraw from Kuwait. At sea in the Persian Gulf and deployed throughout the northern Saudi Arabian desert, more than 600,000 U.S. and allied troops awaited the order to launch an offensive. In Washington, the two houses of Congress authorized Bush, by narrow margins, to send American troops into action. And in the streets of the Iraqi capital, there was a palpable mood of gloom, mixed with disbelief that the long-drawn-out battle was actually at hand.

In Israel, which the Iraqis have cited as their first target if war begins, fear was profound (page 27). Elsewhere, mounting concern led to a flurry of rumors and peace plans. Published reports, quoting Arab diplomats, described an Iraqi plan to pull troops out or even after Jan. 15, but the Baghdad government denied it. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev telephoned President George Bush with some new ideas on delaying the crisis, but the White House kept the details confidential. European Community nations prepared to resume their attempts to secure an Iraqi withdrawal by promising a Middle East peace conference that would address the Palestinian problem.

Another European initiative, Iraqi Warlike countries offered to supply a UN peacekeeping force for Kuwait after an Iraqi pullout. Meanwhile, the Canadian government committed six more C-130 jet fighters, a Boeing 707 air-to-air

refueling plane and 130 additional support personnel to its forces already in the Gulf (page 32 and 36). And at week's end, there were unconfirmed reports, which Ottawa denied, that Canada had a contingency plan to send 5,000 ground troops, equipped with tanks and artillery.

The last-casualty hours of diplomatic and military activity followed a failed Jan. 9 meeting in Geneva between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz. It was the two countries' first high-level encounter since the start of the crisis. The talks lasted

more than six hours and raised expectations of an imminent breakthrough. At Geneva's Hotel Intercontinental where the meeting was held, staff members raised a three-foot plywood fence in front of the entrance. And as the session dragged on, analysts began to speculate that the two ministers were making progress. White House spokesman Mark Fowler said during a lunch break that the talks were "substantive."

But when a no-nonsense-looking Baker emerged at the conclusion of the talks, he swiftly dispelled hope. Declared the secretary of state,

"Regrettably, I heard nothing today that suggested to me any Iraqi flexibility." Baker added that if Iraq chose to continue its "brutal" occupation of Kuwait, it would be "choosing a military confrontation which it cannot win."

Later, he flew to Saudi Arabia and other Arab capitals for discussions before a meeting that he had scheduled with Prime Minister Izzat Ibrahim al-Majid on Sunday on his way back to Washington.

In his public appearances, Aziz did not once refer to Kuwait. Instead, he emphasized the nearly 34-year Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, in defiance of UN resolutions. Said Aziz: "The Palestinian question is a matter of national security to Iraq." And when a reporter asked him if Iraq would attack Israel should war break out in the Gulf, Aziz replied without hesitation: "Yes. Absolutely, yes." He also said that he had declined to accept from Baker a letter that Bush had written to Hussein because its language was not "polite."



In Washington, Bush commented that Hussein had given the United States "a total stiff-arm, a total refusal." He said that he had not yet decided to go to war if the Iraqis failed to withdraw by Jan. 15, but he added that he was "more determined than ever" that Baghdad must accept the UN deadline.

The President also said that his letter to Hussein was "not rude," but "direct." The letter, the text of which White House officials revealed at week's end, told Hussein that "Iraq cannot and will not be able to hold on to Kuwait or exact a price for leaving." It added that "you will be held directly responsible for terrorist actions against any member of the coalition. The American people would demand the strongest possible response. You and your country will pay a terrible price if you order unconscionable acts of this sort."

Shortly after the Geneva meeting ended, the United Nations announced that Pérez de Cuellar would fly to Baghdad for talks with Hussein on the weekend. Before he left, he met in New York City with External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, who handed him a letter from the Prime Minister. The text was not released, but a spokesman said that it set forth proposals that included a recognition of Iraq's need for better access to the Persian Gulf and the formation of a peacekeeping force with a Canadian component. Pérez de Cuellar talked in Paris with French President François Mitterrand and in Geneva with the 12 EC foreign ministers, whose own offer to meet Aziz in Luxembourg or Algeria the Iraqis had rejected.

Defendants: Mitterrand had already said that he would continue his own peace efforts until the UN deadline passed. But if the Iraqis had not withdrawn by then, he said, war was "practically certain" and France (which has 16,000 troops, 48 fighter aircraft and 24 warships in the Gulf) would take part in it. Still, the EC members seemed determined to make one last attempt to persuade Hussein to withdraw. Both they and the UN chief expressed a willingness to sponsor a wider Middle East peace conference that would take up the case of the Palestinians—but only after an Iraqi withdrawal. At Washington round-table talks, but some analysts speculated that the administration might privately acquiesce to a conference if it did not appear to appease Hussein as the powers. Said Geoffrey Kemp of Washington's Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: "The linkage is already there. The question is how it's presented and packaged."

Details of the ceasefire plan began to emerge even before Pérez de Cuellar reached Baghdad. The proposal was initiated by the Nordic bloc: nations—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Ireland—which offered to provide troops for an observer force under the title



Marines in Saudi Arabia (left); Hussein and Bush (above) (right)



ARAB RADICALS THREATEN TO LAUNCH ATTACKS AGAINST AMERICANS

and where no flag. That fear would mean a placed withdrawal of the estimated half-million Iraqi troops in Kuwait, which Baghdad has proclaimed to be the country's 19th province. After the pullout, a larger U.S. peacekeeping force would deploy within Kuwait, while negotiators took place between Iraq and the

Hanane that the country was behind him. Although the dossier was not strictly along party lines, most congressional Democrats have been allowing more time for sanctions to work. Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts said that Bush had "let the issue of war," and he added that the issue would "reach the

people" unless the Senate put it out. Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, chairman of the Senate armed services committee, said that every member of Congress had to ask if he would be able to tell parents, spouses and children if Americans killed in a war that the sacrifice was for a just cause and that there was no other choice. Declared Nunn: "At this time, I cannot." Most Republicans, on the other hand, supported immediate military action. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole of Kansas said that giving Bush the authority to attack was "would strengthen his hand for peace, not give him a license to see how far we can become engaged in conflict." Underlining the grave nature of the debate in both houses, Democratic Speaker Thomas Foley ended his speech with a prayer: "May God bless us and guide us and help us in the critical days that lie ahead."

Activity: Iraq, on Saturday, took leaders finally gave Bush the authority he wanted: the Senate by a 52-to-47 vote, the House by 250 to 163. Not since 1941, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, had Congress faced such a clear choice as whether to go to war (once then, presidents have acted largely on their own authority). The congressional votes Bush said afterwards were "the clearest message" to Hussein that he must leave Kuwait. He added "Peace is everyone's goal, peace is in everyone's prayers, but it is for Iraq to decide."

In fact, it remained unclear exactly

when the deadline for withdrawal would expire. U.S. officials claimed that because the Security Council voted in New York, the deadline would be midnight on Tuesday 8/11, or 8 a.m. Wednesday on the Gulf. Asked whether Hussein would have time to withdraw by then, Bush said that he did not wish to signal any flexibility. But he added: "The stars turn in the sky. I don't know what he should have done weeks ago, clearly that would make a difference."

'Blood' In Baghdad, Hussein showed up on top of his compound. He told his top leaders he was ruling party that he would make Americans soldiers "taste at their own blood." And later, addressing a conference of radical Muslims, he called the Iraq-Iran conflict "a showdown between the noble and the believers, between good and evil." The delegates issued a statement around the world "must be expelled and destroyed." But at Mecca, Islam's holiest site, a real conference of Muslim leaders denounced the Baghdad regime as "non-Muslim" and urged Iraqis to adhere to Islamic values because Hussein had violated the tenets of Islam by involving fellow Muslims in conflict.

For its part, the Federal Bureau of Investigation reacted to Arab threats of terrorist attacks by questioning a number of prominent Arab-Americans—and putting some of them under

surveillance. Canadian security forces took similar, although less intense, action (page 36). Arab-Americans responded with angry protests, claiming that their community's loyalty had been impugned. "This is not the way to attack terrorism," said James Doghy, director of Washington's Arab American Institute. "It is

Born, German police raided the homes of several Arabs and made two arrests. "There have been no riots, and we assume they are serious," said a spokesman for the counter-terrorist police.

Military policies busy uprooted on the belly decision and outcome of a war. Most



Foley (left) and Nunn: underscoring the grave tone of a long, historic and emotional debate

the way to diffuse passions against the Arab-Americans."

Still, state department spokesman Richard Boucher closed on Friday that the administration had evidence that Iraq-supported terrorism were planning to mount attacks against Americans "in most regions of the world." It

predicted that hostilities would begin with a massive around-the-clock blitz on Iraqi targets by the 1,600 Israeli and carrier-based allied warplanes. Most of them remained that the war would not last more than a month. Henry Kissinger, editor of the newsletter, London-based Jewish Intelligence Review, set out a



ESCAPING FROM A GROWING DANGER

When Iraqi President Saddam Hussein threatened to launch his first invasion of Tel Aviv in his 1976 speech, Israeli officials insisted that the Jewish state will be saved. Declared Defense Minister Moshe Arens: "Our population is firm, courageous and calm." But that confidence was not enough. At Tel Aviv's Ben-Gurion International Airport, where thousands of foreign students, tourists and even Israeli Jewish students a mass exodus in advance of the Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. As the danger of war increased, all but 500 of the 5,000 foreign volunteers working on intensive farms in the country. As well, most of the 44 Canadian exchange students at Jerusalem's Bar Ilan University were preparing to leave, some of them with

evacuation. "I am not frightened," said 24-year-old Melissa Lefkowitz of Tel Aviv, a Hebrew University student who was so brave, waiting for the lights ahead. "But my mother wants me to come home."

Meanwhile, elite foreign students suspended their flights to Israel, ending a dramatic increase in evacuations. And most of the remaining flights before Jan. 15 were already fully booked. Another indication of fear about safety in Israel was the drop in Soviet Jewish immigrants to as low as 600 a day last week from 1,300 a day in December. Said Gad Ben-Ari, a spokesman for the Jewish Agency, which helps bring in new immigrants: "It has to be said Jan. 15. People are fleeing back to us, what will happen."

Although Israel has been relatively unscathed during the Gulf crisis, officials said that they would strike back ferociously in the event of an Arab attack. The military is on high alert and last week authorities stepped up their civil defense precautions. They asked gas masks to

a million rural residents, after handing them out in crates and large towns left full. A senior military officer told *Maariv's*: "It has never been in better shape. The air force has spent millions of dollars on training since Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait last August."

The nearest Jewish university, located near Dimona in Israel, "I feel secure here," said Adam Dolek, a 20-year-old political science student from Montreal's McGill University who is studying in Jerusalem. But another McGill student, Eric Black, 25, said that he would probably leave. "If the Gulf crisis is not resolved," he added, "I may not want to come back." With Iraqi missiles pointed at Israel, it may be a long time before a sense of security—and foreign visitors—return to the Jewish state.

MARY KENNETH with EBC 52/197 in Jerusalem

ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS TOOK TO THE STREETS AROUND THE WORLD

number of possibilities, all of them forecasting an allied victory.

Dodds said that Hussein might seek peace within a few hours in the face of overwhelming allied superiority. Or, he added, Hussein could refuse allied aerial bombardment for two or three days to maintain some dignity, before beginning to withdraw. A third possibility, said

Dodds, was that the air attack would be followed by a ground assault on Iraqi forces in Kuwait, triggering large-scale military and diplomatic moves. The Iraqi troops and equipment in the desert would be in a state of readiness. Another possibility, he said, was that Iraqi forces might fight with high morale and good leadership, but give up after about 17 days. At that point, Dodds said, the military and political analysts would discuss the use of tactical nuclear weapons by the allies.

Strikes. Canada's likely role in a war became the subject of a new controversy last week. On Friday, when Gen. John de Chantelme, the Canadian Forces chief of staff, announced the dispatch of up to 3,000 Canadian troops to the Gulf, he declined to rule out the possibility that Canadian aircraft might join in offensive strikes. The government, he said, had made no decision on the subject. But he said that Canada was committed to the UN Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force.

De Chantelme also said that Canadian officials were talking to the British about sending a military field hospital with roughly 500 related personnel to help provide services for the 30,000 British troops in Saudi Arabia. He refused to predict the number of casualties likely to be sustained in a war with Iraq, but he commented, "Any war is brutal."

In a federal cabinet office, retired Lt. Gen. Lloyd Austin said that Prime Minister Mulroney's decision to undertake not to make any further commitments in the Gulf would considerably weaken the coalition, which Mulroney had accepted for a success debate this week. The Prime Minister's decision to send the aircraft was "another real tragedy," said Austin.

The experts at a conference plan to send 5,000 Canadian

ground troops to the area down similar Iraqi comments from opposition spokesmen.

Stock markets around the world reacted nervously last week, rising and falling with each dramatic new development. Economists said that if war began, its economic impact would depend on how long the fighting lasts and on how much damage is inflicted on Gulf oil

are too old to play Rimbo" (The French president in 1941) London was the scene of a 10,000-strong demonstration. Still, polls indicate that most British support for the use of force. In Baghdad, most Western diplomats either had left by word of mouth or were about to do so. Canadian Ambassador Christopher Pratt flew out to Frankfurt with most of his staff on Saturday. Most journalists, too, said that they were planning to leave before the deadline expired. On the surface, life appeared relatively normal. But many of the capital's four million people were preparing to evacuate the city. There were long lines at gas stations, and some drivers had to wait for four hours to fill their



Anti and Baker in Geneva, Place de la Concorde (below) crowded expectations of a breakthrough

factories. The world's economies, they said, could absorb a short war ending in an Iraqi defeat. But if the conflict is protracted and Iraqi oil refineries are badly damaged, the world would be plunged into a far deeper recession, with oil rising to as much as \$60 a barrel from about \$30. Sir James Birt of London's Morgan Grenfell investment bank. "It would all depend on what happens to oil prices, and that depends on how early the war is."

In Germany, France, Britain and Italy, hundreds of thousands of antiwar demonstrators took to the streets last Saturday. An estimated quarter of a million Germans, many chanting "No blood for oil," rallied in more than 100 towns. In Paris, about 40,000 people took part in two rallies, and similar protests occurred in 150 other French cities. Some protesters shouted: "Mitterrand, you

stinks. Used-car lots did a roaring trade as residents sought emergency transportation to take their families to safer locations in the countryside. Staple goods, including bread, milk and rice, were in short supply. Iraqi Airways, the only carrier that was still flying regularly in and out of Baghdad, was not accepting reservations after Jan. 16.

Still, some Baghdad residents seemed confident that war would be avoided. One driver, who identified himself only as Ali, said he was watching a long line of vehicles waiting for gasoline. "People are both nervous. They think war is right around the corner. They will be so war, trust me." But some of the optimists and moralist spirit evident earlier in the crisis appeared to be evaporating. And perhaps only Saddam Hussein himself knew whether the battle would reverse course at the last moment—or lead him people into a major war.

JOHN BERKMAN and **ANDREW HALLIFAX** in London, **ALAN RACKENBACH** in Washington, **JEANNE WALLACE** in Geneva, **PETER LEWIS** in Geneva and **JOHN HOLLAND** in Baghdad.

TENSION IN THE DESERT

TROOPS PREPARE TO 'GO IN AND GIVE HIM HELL'

As the Persian Gulf crisis approached its dramatic climax, America's Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Pentagon's Joint Chiefs of Staff met in Saudi Arabia last week. He took a 10-hour surveillance flight on a U.S. A-7C (airborne warning and control system) aircraft, which will be a key part of the coalition's forward defense in the event of war, and he talked with troops at the eastern part of the country. His report:

Thirty-one thousand feet above the sands of Saudi Arabia, U.S. air force Capt. Vernon Ritz stood at a computer screen crowded with scores of blinking dots. Each one represented an aircraft, and the crew of the American A-7C plane patrolling the border with Iraq identified them, then categorized them by color. Red, a 31-year-old Texas who is the crew's senior weapons director, explained, "Green's good, red's bad, yellow's not sure yet." His screen showed no red dots denigrating enemy aircraft, or "hostiles" in air force parlance. The Iraqi were evidently holding their fighters well back from their southern border with Saudi Arabia, out of range of the A-7C's powerful radar system. "It's not meant up north today," and blue. But if war breaks out after the Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, it will be anything but quiet for Ritz and his two dozen fellow crew members, who operate what they call Commander. Col. Gary Vogler, calls "the world's biggest Nintendo game."

The A-7C plane, known as E-3 Sentry aircraft, began a patrol just off the American, early warning system in case of attack by Iraq warplanes. Flying rotation, around-the-clock patrols, they give the U.S. commanders a continual picture of all air activity in a 1,500-mile swath of territory from Jordan to Iran. They can "see" electronically about 350 miles into Iraq's sky, whose border appears as a people line on Ritz's pulsating screen. "They can't take off or fly without us seeing them," said Col. Thomas Ritz, deputy commander of

the 55th Airborne Warning and Control Wing, which operates the A-7C planes. "That's a great advantage," added Vogler, the unit's commander. "We provide a God-eye view of what's going on."

Iraq has no real equivalent to the U.S. A-7C, a modified Boeing 707 jet with a distinctive circular radar dome mounted on top and a price tag of \$210 million per plane. Although Baghdad officials recently announced that they have a surveillance plane nicknamed the "Adnan-2," American officials maintain that it has only five to 10 per cent of the A-7C's capabilities. And American officials operate sophisticated spy satellites able to identify Iraqi and tank movements on the ground. Together with the

not deter him at his young career, who have been flying patrols over Saudi Arabia since noon after Iraq's Aug. 3 invasion of Kuwait. "We're really to start the war right here on this plane," he said as the plane flew over an expanse of Saudi desert that the air force has code-named Desert 2. "When the President tells us to go, we go." The key role of the A-7C planes would make them a likely target of Iraqi fighters. "They know we're out here," said Vogler, "and they know what we can do."

The aircraft are unarmed, but are protected by four fighters that place themselves between the A-7C and any potential threat. But the knowledge that they could soon be flying directly into hostile fire is clearly sobering



Kuwaiti forces move over the Saudi border; helicopters arriving in every few minutes

area, U.S. commanders say, the satellite coverage gives the Western forces an enormous advantage over the Iraqi in knowing exactly where to strike and in detecting any hostile moves.

Target: That, at least, is the theory. But like many other advanced American weapons systems, the A-7C plane, which began operations in 1974, have never been tested in a major conflict. Vogler, a 44-year-old veteran of combat missions over Vietnam, stresses that the plane's lack of battle experience does

"There is tension and there is fear, no doubt," said Vogler. "Everyone has two fears. Fear of the enemy and fear of how he'll react in a combat situation." In discussions with his crew, Vogler added, "I tell them that the way home is through Baghdad—the general feeling is that we should go in, get it done, and go home."

Members of the multinational force on the ground expressed similar feelings as they prepared to position themselves for battle. The highway leading north towards Kuwait from

Udhruh, Saudi Arabia's main Gulf port, was crowded with military convoys transporting everything from tanks to toothpaste for the hundreds of thousands of American, British, Saudi and other national troops in the desert. One morning last week, near the main British

swapped low overhead every day. Among the British troops stationed nearby, the talk was of getting the job done and getting out of the desert, where force majeure had given way to home-chilled anger. "It's bloody cold," said one major with the British

Hill, a 24-year-old lieutenant with the 2nd Field Regiment of the Royal Artillery, said that he received the tough message. "I'm glad there was no winking at it," he said. "We've been hanging about here for nothing. The only solution is to go in and give him hell." At 10:00 a.m., the dull drizzle of heavy fire from British Challenger tanks practicing their skills, sounded out across the desert.

Bodies: Elsewhere, some American soldiers seemed less eager. At the base camp of the U.S. 26th Quartermaster Battalion, which provides support services for 13,000 American troops, 1st Lieut. Sidney Honey was supervising a field bakery that turns out 900 loaves of bread a day. If war breaks out, however, Honey will be in charge of what the army calls "grains registration"—collecting, processing and shipping out the bodies of slain soldiers. Asked how she would react to that assignment, Honey replied, "It's hard to predict. You have to approach it from a professional standpoint and think about the respect and reverence and the caring, that this is someone who belongs to some body back home that the stress level would be very high." As it happens, Honey will turn 24 on deadline day Jan. 15. "I don't know how I'll celebrate," she said. "I guess I'll just look forward to turning 25." She may also face an event—and violence—new year. G



Saudi soldiers: Western forces claim an enormous technological advantage over the Iraqis

reconquest, a convoy of 20 trucks thundered past, each loaded with 24 antipersonnel rockets designed to scatter explosives among enemy soldiers. Another convoy carried mobile field hospitals and, while heavy vehicles descended American M1-A1 battle tanks, painted desert tan, traversed the front lines. Helicopters

6th Armored Brigade, part of the famed Desert Scouts who fought in North Africa during the Second World War. "The job would like to go and get it over with," British Prime Minister John Major stated the brigade last week and repeated his government's position that Iraq must withdraw by Jan. 15 or face attack. The

presence of the peace camp has a degree of perception that from happening." Said Harold Sibley, 65, a writer, analyst and author of *Desert Storm Victories*. "We all can do something; we don't have to sit back and be lost."

The addition of the five Canadians last week raised to 15 the number of countries represented at the desert camp. Gulf Peace Team's cofounder Jean Chrétien said that he expects about 100 volunteers at the site by Jan. 15, when the UN resolution authorizing military force against Iraq takes effect. Chrétien, a 31-year-old Belgian economist, former lecturer at the London School of Economics and social activist who lives among the homeless in London, is clearly the exception for the camp volunteers. "If we believe in peace, we have to show some freedom from the parameters of status that create violence," said Chrétien. "We must practice what we preach."

That is a philosophy that Chrétien, who says that he plans to spend two weeks at the peace camp, obviously takes seriously. An occupational health physician at a Toronto clinic and a resident in community medicine at nearby

Burlington's *McMaster University*, he has been a longtime member of the Canadian Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Last year in Thailand, where Chrétien studied international development, he also became a Buddhist. Chrétien, who like most of the peacekeepers just lives day by day, believes. "I believe that a nonviolent protest was in the war zone could be an incredible catalyst for reconsidering what is at stake."

Sibley said that going to the camp is a reflection of her Quaker belief in nonviolence. She added that her husband, 35-year-old Carlos Rovilla, and her children all supported her decision. She acknowledged that she was nervous on the eve of her three-week stay on the front lines, but added that the potential benefits outweigh the risks. "We expect soldiers to leave their families behind and go to the Gulf," said Sibley. "We too, must be willing to make the same sacrifice for peace."

ANDREW BILAKI

Nothing succeeds like successors.



SAVORING PEACE, READY FOR WAR

On a desolate stretch of Iraqi desert near the Saudi Arabian border, about 90 volunteers stand precariously between the vast army of Saddam Hussein and equally formidable international forces. Since Dec. 26, the volunteers, members of the international Gulf Peace Team, have been camping on the front lines about two kilometers inside Iraq, offering themselves as human shields in hopes of preventing the outbreak of war. Last week, two Canadians set off for the peace camp, a handful of tents pitched around a well where Muslims traditionally stop to rest on their annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Both Canadians acknowledge that they remain in danger, but they maintain that peace is worth the risk. "If I face death, my fate will be that of millions of people," said Robert Chase, a 30-year-old physician from Toronto. "I think that my

Over the next twenty years, baby boomers will inherit a trillion dollars, and receipt of this wealth will profoundly affect everything from their children and lifestyles to the economy.

The effects — plus the ramifications, implications and complications — were all examined in detail only in Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine.

Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

VAN DOOS AND DESERT CATS

CANADIAN FORCES ARE AT TOP ALERT

Over a lunch of greasy spaghetti at a wilderness encampment in the Persian Gulf shadows of Qatar, two Canadian fighter pilots were discussing the prospect of war. Capt. Robison Cox, a 27-year-old native of Vancouver, said that when there is no conflict, "you do wonder how good you are." He added: "Imagine if you were a doctor all your life but you never had a patient because everyone was healthy. You'd kind of like to see a sick person." Said 38-year-old Capt. Emilio Calderon of Toronto: "It's more like being an undertaker with no work to do. I can live with that." Despite their easy banter, there was increased apprehension last week among the 1,700 Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen stationed in the Gulf region as part of the *Seaforce* multinational force arrayed against Iraq. And as time went by, no out for the un-armed Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq to withdraw its forces from Kuwait, the troops came closer than to any Canadian servicemen since the 1961-to-1993 Korean conflict to being caught up in a war.

In Bay Qatar, temporary home to Cox, Cal-

deron and 576 other pilots, groundcrew and support staff from the 439 and 444 Tactical Fighter Squadrons, based at Baden-Söllinge, Germany, and Gold Lake, Alta., respectively, the mood was particularly tense. It was bordering on the CF-18 pilots who have been patrolling the northern Gulf will likely be directly involved. The 16 Canadian fighters in Qatar have been providing defensive air cover for allied naval vessels, including the Canadian ships *Terra Nova*, *Abdullah* and *Proteus*, since early October. In war, they would likely encounter Iraqi F-1 Mirage and MiG fighters. Still, there were no public plans last week for the Canadian fighters to take an offensive role in the war.

Vice-Adm. Col. Romeo Lalonde, the taciturn 38-year air force veteran who commands the Qatar-based squadron, said that the CF-18s would continue to fly their patrols over the northern Gulf during a war. "The mission is to support the UN coalition against Iraq and protect the ships," Lalonde said in his understated office beside the runway that the Canadian fighters share with Qatar's and American war-

planes. His voice occasionally dropped out by the hummer of jets overhead. Lalonde, a native of Timmishawash, Ont., added: "As for a follow-on mission, that will be decided by our Canadian politicians."

But the Canadian pilots voiced confidence that if they have to battle Iraqi fighters, they would be the victors. In addition to flying air cover for allied warships in the Gulf, they also engage in mock air combat with Qatar pilots who fly French-made F-1 Mirage fighters, one of the most successful fighters by the Iraqis. These training sessions have enabled the Canadians to improve their skills against one of their main potential enemies, to learn firsthand how the Mirage performs and how best to defeat it.

In all those precision fights, which usually last two minutes and which the pilots' electronic equipment records for later analysis, the CF-18s have emerged victorious. That performance, the pilots said, has strengthened their confidence.

Lt.-Col. Ronald Gaudiger, who runs the control centre, then coordinated the CF-18 flights, talked about a conversation that he had recently had with a Qatar F-1 pilot, Gaudiger, 37, said that the Qatar pilot said: "When ever I have to fight a CF-18, I feel so stupid. I know I'm going to die." The F-1, according to the Canadians, is much less maneuverable than the CF-18, known as the *Bonnet*. Added Gaudiger: "Any Iraqi F-1 who wishes for a long and happy life is not going to stick around and fight with a CF-18. It's a very superior aircraft."

Skill: Still, the Canadian pilots appeared more apprehensive than eager at the prospect of testing their skills in life-or-death confrontations. None of them was hesitating, and they all seemed greatly conscious of the automatic realities of war. Declared Gaudiger: "First you have to remember that compared with the Americans, we are a small player here. If we talked about cloning their clock, we'd be talking bigger than our bitches." Flying in a war, added Calderon, includes the possibility of being forced to parachute over Iraq or Kuwait and ending up as a prisoner. He added: "There are a lot of ugly stories about what might happen."

Few of the Canadians currently in Qatar have been there for more than a month. The command force from the 439 and 444 squadrons, whose members call themselves the *Desert Cats*, replaced the original force, the 408-



Running troops during training: apprehensive, rather than eager to test their skills in life-or-death confrontations

Tactical Fighter Squadron, based at Baden-Söllinge. Stationary from the 3rd Battalion, the Royal Canadian Regiment in London, Ont., who accompanied that squadron to guard the two camps, were replaced at the same time by 106 members of the 1st Battalion, the Royal 22nd Regiment—the legendary *Van Doos*. The new force was posted to Qatar for a total of 13 to 14 weeks, although that may be extended another month if war breaks out.

At the two Canadian bases in Qatar, nicknamed *Canada Dry* and *Canada Dry Two*, the 560 cars and 33 women cite the policy of rotating the force out after three months as a principal reason for their high morale. In contrast, the 1,800 Americans of the 491 Tactical Fighter Wing, who fly F-16 fighters out of Qatar, arrived in late August and, like all American forces in the Gulf region, their posting may last until the crisis is over. Their morale has already suffered as a result. The *Canadians' sports* have also been hampered by literally tons of mail from home—about 3,000 in every four days.

A few of the thousands of letters addressed to "Any Servicemen" have been mailed, according to the troops of being warfighters. Sgt. Michael Joly, a 46-year-old native of Montreal's South Point St-Charles district who is the base's postmaster, said that he has turned up some of those letters but a few have gotten through. In response, some members of the

squadron have written back saying that they are proud to be in the Gulf to ensure Iraq's aggression.

Still, some of the Canadians privately express doubts about aspects of their mission. Several of them said that it seems ironic that they are defending themselves from a base in Qatar, a conservative kingdom ruled by members of the al-Thani family, including the emir, Sheik Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani. Only about 100,000 of the kingdom's 375,000 inhabitants are of Qatar descent. The rest are mainly migrant workers from other Arab countries, Pakistan and the Philippines, and they have few civil rights.

Seared: The Qatar authorities are highly sensitive to criticism, and leaders of the Canadian forces in the country say that they strive to avoid offending their hosts. But some Canadian expressed negative feelings about the Qataris. Capt. André Samson, the Van Doos' Roman Catholic chaplain, who has developed contacts with some Catholic immigrant workers in Qatar, said that many of them "are tremendously like slaves." Added Samson: "We aren't here to defend democracy, that's for sure. I did spread that it's for the principle of international law, that one country cannot be allowed to attack another country."

Although it is the CF-18 pilots who face the most direct threat in case of war, other Canadians on the ground in Qatar can be at risk as

well. Compared with the massive array of firepower in eastern and northern Saudi Arabia mobilized against Iraq forces, the allied forces in Qatar are relatively small, and the kingdom's airbase is not considered a prime Iraq military target. Still, it is within range of Iraq's Scud missiles, which are believed to be capable of delivering a chemical warhead 300 miles. The Canadians there carry gas masks nearly all of the time. As well, during a war, terrorists sympathetic to Iraq might try to attack Western bases or groups of Western servicemen in Qatar.

Canadian authorities at the base have advanced their military personnel to avoid going to the Fizz that in Qatar's capital, Doha, on Thursday night. Said Gary Stewart, a 46-year-old communications specialist from Belleville, Ont.: "That's not brewing right. The last 110 days go knowing and then go for guns, we keep going." The threats, said Stewart, made all those at the base jittery as the Jan. 15 deadline approached. He added: "Everyone wonders, what if Hussein doesn't get out? How's a going to affect us and the ships? It's like the first time you jump out of an airplane—if you're not a jet scud, you shouldn't be here." For the Canadian forces in Qatar, not adopting the danger may come be the least of their problems.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Qatar



WAR AND PEACE

IS THE GULF WAR WORTH FIGHTING?

The dangerous standoff in the Persian Gulf has sparked a passionate debate between those who support a war to drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait and those who want additional attempts to obtain a peaceful solution. Maclean's summarizes the arguments, in language most often used by the proponents, after interviews with a wide variety of international analysts.

PRO: We're at it, and the war that may break out in the Gulf threatens to be one of the ugliest. The awful destructive power of high-tech battlefield weaponry, the likely use of chemical and biological agents and the harsh desert conditions guarantee that. But if President Saddam Hussein is not stopped now, an even more terrible prospect will face the world in a few years when he has a nuclear arsenal.

Given time, economic sanctions might force Hussein to pull back without war. But that is certain to be a lengthy process. A deadline had to be set, based by a credible threat of military action. Extending that deadline in the hope that Hussein will see the light is out of the question. At March marks the start of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, during which America's Islamic allies cannot be expected to fight. Before the summer, a combination of heat and mosquitoes makes combat extremely difficult. The sand climate opportunity for optimal military action does not arise until October. And it is not politically, strategically or economically feasible to keep hundreds of thousands of troops waiting that long in the desert.

But why does President George Bush insist that Hussein's aggression "must not stand"? The answer is provided by recent history. If Western democracies had stopped Adolf Hitler when he occupied the Rhineland in 1936, there might have been no Second World War. Bush learned that lesson well, and he has acted on it. The United States has led the way, and that is its proper function as a democratic superpower. Canada and others that have followed Washington's lead have done so in proper response as nations that recognize a responsibility to help promote civilized standards of international behavior.

The Gulf crisis is not an issue of America against Iraq. Post World War II, against Third, the West against Islam. Since sport from the Arab modernists, the 30 nations signed militarily against Iraq include Muslim Bangladesh and Pakistan, Africa's Sierra Leone and Senegal, as well as America's traditional Western allies. And the Soviet Union (which has two warships in the Gulf) and China have both given Washington firm diplomatic support, backing the passage of 12 UN Security Council resolutions that condemn Hussein's actions. There could hardly be a clearer demonstration of the international community's backing.

Bush's critics say that his primary concern is oil, not international morality. And oil is a major factor. Nations do not make war for ethical reasons alone. But it is not dishonorable to stop a aggressor as ruthless as Hussein from putting a hemisphere on a commodity so vital to the economic well-being of all countries.

Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf kingdoms that asked for America's protection are not democracies. But that is not the point. If there must be war—and the chances are high with Hussein—it will not be a war to generate democracy, but to generate what Bush has called "a new world order" in which Hussein's style of aggression has no place. In such a world, those who would take the rule of an autocrat as a model are more likely to find their own way to democracy.

War is hell, and the war that may break out in the Persian Gulf threatens to be one of the ugliest. But what is the price of peace?

CON: To George Bush, the man "Innocent of Vietnam," as he has repeatedly referred to it, is that if America is going to fight, it must fight to win. That is the wrong issue. What the President and everyone else should have learned from Vietnam is that there are some areas not worth fighting—some places where American forces don't belong and cannot really win, where the catastrophic costs simply outweigh the uncertain benefits. The Persian Gulf is one such place.

Bush has offered countless explanations for the huge international deployment in the Gulf. He has talked about protecting "the American way of life" and about not "rewarding aggression," and he has compared Saddam Hussein to Adolf Hitler. But the rhetoric seems strained, the reasons unconvincing. Hussein is a brutal despot, but America and its allies cannot rid the world of all brutal despots. Washington even supports some of them when it seems convenient—including Hussein himself after he invaded Iraq a decade ago. Despite Bush's rhetoric, it's doubtful oil did not lie beneath the Kuwait and Saudi attacks, there would be no Operation Desert Shield. When another protesters chanted "We won't die for Texas," they have a point. Desert to restore Kuwait's brutal monarchy is no more persuasive an argument.

In a battle of high-tech weapons, the west is likely to be high. Even an exact military victory would have unpredictable, and potentially disastrous, political consequences. It would destabilize an already volatile region. It would do nothing to solve the long-lasting Palestinian problem. It could leave a power vacuum in Iraq, and any successor to Hussein would certainly be no friend of the nations that had just bombed his country to ruin. In fact, war could create a new generation of Arabs antagonistic to the West and give rise to terrorism of unprecedented ferocity. That, personally, is not the sort of "new world order" that Bush keeps talking about.

By contrast, international economic sanctions have a real hope of working—if they are given the chance. They have already resulted in shortages of industrial and military parts and some foods, and even if they could convince Hussein to retreat, or require a genuine cease-fire or military uprising against him, it is true, of course, that the overall embargo would be difficult to sustain. Arab support could slip away, North Americans could grow impatient with the price. But those pitfalls are preferable to the certain disaster that war would bring. And if the price of Hussein's withdrawal turns out to be a long-term Kuwait lease of Baghdad and Warka schools, which offer Iraq direct access to the Gulf, such a compromise would be worth making if it averts thousands of lives.

U.S. officials insist that only Saddam Hussein can decide whether there will be peace or war. But it is the allies, with their combined rhetoric, mass deployment and withdrawal-of-else strategy, that have pushed the Gulf crisis to the brink. In all likelihood, war will not simply start—the Americans will start it. Hussein has shown a willingness to use particular gas. The allies should not try to emulate him. □

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The Poole family: the nephews of Russians and the fathers of the Gulf crisis

PREPARING FOR THE WORST

CANADA BRACES ITSELF FOR WAR

At nuclear power plants in New Brunswick and Ottawa officials quietly called in extra staff members and moved surveillance. At airports across the country, special new security measures went into effect. In Charlottetown, the department of veterans affairs expanded its capability for handling potential death and injury claims for Canadian personnel in Persian Gulf operations. In Montreal, federal security agents arrested members of the Iraq-Canadian conspiracy. In Ottawa, the government announced that it will send more fighter jets to the Persian Gulf—and the opposition denounced the plan. Suddenly, for the first time in 37 years, Canada faced the prospect of war—and preparations took place across the nation against the backdrop of a grim warning: Said Defense Minister William McLaughlin, "People have to understand that at the role the Canadian Forces are involved in now, they will be war-fighting. Canadian pilots will be shooting down Iraqi jets and, unfortunately, Canadian pilots will be shot at."

Throughout the country, the official prepa-

rations for possible hostilities intensified against a rising chorus of debate about Canada's role in the conflict. And whatever the outcome of the showdown in the Persian Gulf, the shared experiences of a nation walking towards an eleven-hour deadline produced emotions and actions not seen in Canada since the Korean War. The first shock took place early last week with a report that Iraq terrorists had selected key targets in Canada. The week ended with a flurry of details in Ottawa that the government had initiated a contingency plan to ship a 5,000-member brigade to the Gulf. And in homes and workplaces from coast to coast, families and colleagues discussed the possible consequences. Could one of the kids be drafted? Was the business flight to New York City safe? Was a global configuration possible?

Terrified: There were no answers to the larger questions. On the specific, officials tended to downplay the darkest reports. In Washington, the press would not confirm that the agency was considering Iraqi agents who were plotting disruptions in Canada. But the Montreal-based International Air Transport

Association warned Ottawa that Canada was a high-risk terrorist target, along with the other members of the Gulf coalition force. For the first time, Transport Canada activated the four-year-old Canadian Aeronautics Alert System for Canada's airports. Transport Canada's director general for security, John Rodocanachi, said that "at the moment, there is no indication of attacks in Canada," but that the security action was "a prudent measure in case the situation changes." Although airline passengers experienced no noticeable inconvenience last week, Rodocanachi said that moving to the highest level of alert would mean virtually "closing down" airports.

Officials were more guarded about the details of nuclear power-plant precautions. In New Brunswick, at the Eggenon reactor on the Bay of Fundy, authorities acknowledged that the number of people on guard duty had been increased. Security was also expanded at Ontario Hydro nuclear facilities, including reactors at Pickering and Darlington, east of Toronto, and at the Bruce nuclear plant on Lake Huron.

Attack: In Charlottetown, headquarters of the department of veterans affairs, information officer Lorne Fergus said that sufficient resources were now in place to handle any requests involving the 1,500 Canadians in the Gulf region. "We are ready to deal with requests for benefits even if almost war happens," said Fergus.

In Ottawa, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney emerged from a Thursday meeting of senior cabinet ministers and said that the government had reached no decision on whether to authorize Canadian forces to participate in any U.S.-led attack on Iraq positions in Kuwait. He asked that Parliament would reconvene this week to allow him to debate the issue. But a day later, Gen. John de Chastelain, chief of the defense staff, announced that Canada would augment its squadron of fighter jets in the Gulf with six more CF-18s. 158 service personnel and a tanker aircraft to refuel the fighters as well. As well, the defense department issued a Sunday statement on behalf of McLaughlin stating that the government had not, as had been reported, requested a contingency plan for sending 5,000 troops to the Gulf in the event of war. The statement said in part: "Anticipation that the minister directed the department of national defense to plan the mobilization and deployment of a brigade group to the Gulf is unfounded." But an official acknowledged that, on its own, the department had developed "many contingencies," and a government source admitted that it plans to send a brigade of 5,000 troops and tanks to the Gulf forces, but only to ensure that the Canadian Forces are ready for any eventuality.

The phrasing of contingencies prompted to

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

COVER

become the focus of a vigorous debate in Parliament. Last week, Lloyd Axworthy, the Liberal external affairs critic, set the tone for that debate by asserting that the fighter-coast decision "Clearly, the government has not been telling the truth about its intentions." And NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin faulted the government for lack of consultation about the decision. "The whole point of the democratic process," she said, "is that you don't just go to debate after all the decision have been made."

The approach of war provided further context for past battles. Both conservative workers in U.S. cities rejected increasing numbers of calls from people who were worried about a possible reinstallation of the military draft, suspended in 1970, and asking about the prospect of sending it to go to Canada. And one spokesman for Inup-Canada said that recent Canadian security service interviews have led to fears about citizenship should have gone into a Kinsuit trust earlier."



Antiwar demonstration last Saturday in Toronto against the backdoor of a gins scenario

Against the backdrop of Parliament's return, concern mounted about a massive military offensive that would send the world's largest Canadian in a 100,000-soldier conflict. The Canadian Peace Alliance, an umbrella group representing 300 church, labor, women's and peace organizations, sponsored demonstrations in dozens of centres to protest Canadian involvement in a military offensive. But many other Canadians said that they would support Canadian military action. Declared Calgary resident Wilton Larkins, 78, a retired Royal Navy lieutenant-commander: "The West

of refugees from the Serbian Kosovo region is Canada.

Deaths in Olympia, Wash., John Armstrong of the Draft Resistance Action Group at south-central Evergreen State College and that counselors have told students that draft dodgers likely would be returned under a Canada-U.S. extradition treaty. But at Vancouver, B.C. Peace Party, acting director of the federal justice department, said that the treaty provision would not apply to draft dodgers.

In Montreal, a visiting Inup said that many Inup-Canadians had discussed their fears of

involvement. But Al Rabin, 34, who became a Canadian after fleeing from Iraq because he opposed fighting in the war with Iran, said that he is not concerned about internment. He told Maclean's: "The government knows very well we are refugees. We are against the regime. We suffered from it. It's not just that agents from the Canadian Security Intelligence Service have interviewed some Inup citizens, asking them two basic questions: whether they support Saddam Hussein, and what they would do in the event of war."

In Halifax, the fear of war did not dampen the euphoria surrounding the return of 366 crew members of the supply ship *MSCT Protector* who arrived home late last week as part of a regular rotation of personnel. Landing Sergeant Mark Butler of Sherbrooke, N.S., greeted as he greeted his wife, Sara, at Halifax airport. Asked about her reunion plans, Sara Butler replied: "They're all X-mas." Landing Sergeant Khaled Friche, himself a Lebanese refugee, as he greeted his mother-old son, Nicholas, born in his absence. But the event created mixed emotions for Barbara Greenfield. Her husband, Richard, once home, but the firefighter's replacement crew, which departed on Jan. 1, included his brother, 50, said Greenfield. "I think they should be there."

Worried: Many Canadians were clearly deeply worried about war. Their concerns focused on several common themes: Victoria to St. John's. "We have always been something you read about," and Robert Tough, 21, a professional guitar player in Halifax. "With our own people over there, you start to understand what it means in terms of human life." The invasion to sending Canadian into battle is strongest in Quebec. A Gallup poll conducted last month showed that only 24 per cent of Quebecers favour Canadian military intervention, compared with 45 per cent of all other Canadians.

So serious had the reaction become that senior military officials and politicians seemed compelled to discuss its potential consequences frequently and candidly. "Any war is a lethal war," said Gen. de Chastelain. "In any war, there will be casualties, people will get hurt, people will be destroyed." On the political front, senior Tories privately acknowledged that they were doing by citizens that they may send unduly in enraging the Canadian Forces to the region last August. Clearly, the Prime Minister will need to answer as much support as possible as he decides to order those units into battle. It might be more acceptable that by stating what most role the Canadians would have and what the real risks are. Worried and anxious about the fate of their countrymen, Canadians may not settle for anything less.



Living up to withdraw savings in Swanton, Mass.: a lively \$2.3-billion bailout designed to bolster public confidence

BUSINESS

BANKS IN PERIL

Nervous investors and economists have been predicting for months that 1991 would severely test the U.S. banking system. Less than a month into the new year, there is compelling evidence to justify their concerns. Last week, federal bank regulators seized the financially troubled Bank of New England Corp.—a Boston-based institution with assets of \$28 billion (U.S.)—in a dramatic attempt to shore up confidence in the bank and avert a widespread run on deposits. Only a few days earlier, Rhode Island's First Rhode Island closed 43 banks and credit unions in that state after the collapse of the private company that insured them. Those

THE DEEPENING U.S. BANKING CRISIS MAY DRAG NORTH AMERICA FURTHER INTO RECESSION

events made one concern that the entire U.S. banking system is vulnerable and may need a painful restructuring. Analysts say that the extraordinary losses at U.S. financial institutions are forcing lenders to cut back on lending, hurting some businesses and dragging North America deeper into recession.

The current crisis in the financial services industry is largely a result of a downturn in the U.S. property market. During most of the 1980s, real estate values rose rapidly in most regions of the United States. Anxious to share in the profits, many bankers around the globe began buying and financing billions of dol-

lars in real estate developments. By the late 1980s, however, the market for office space became glutted, then, as down commercial rents. At the same time, the economic slowdown weakened demand for new houses and condominiums. Those two factors produced a wave of bad real estate loans at a time when many U.S. banks are still trying to wriggle out from under the heavy losses they incurred in lending to Third World countries.

As the recession tightens its grip, more and more U.S. banks are being pushed into insolvency. "This will be a big year for failures in terms of assets," says Robert Litten, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. Indeed, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (FDIC)—which guarantees the safety of deposits up to \$100,000 per person in any member bank—has predicted that about 180 banks, with assets totaling \$10 billion, will fail this year. The toll has become so high that the FDIC insurance fund is now at its lowest level since the Depression of the 1930s, when widespread panic led to a run on many savings institutions. Risk officials say that the fund will likely lose another \$5 billion in 1991, ending the year with only \$4 billion.

Canada's banks have also been hit by a rising tide of bad loans recently, but most experts say that the problems are far less severe than those in the United States. For one thing, 90 per cent of Canada's bank assets are

controlled by six large—and national—institutions: the Royal Bank of Canada, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, the Bank of Nova Scotia, the Bank of Montreal, the Toronto-Dominion Bank and the National Bank of Canada. By contrast, the United States is home to more than 12,000 individual banks, the majority of which are far smaller. U.S. banks also face provisions that limit the extent to which they can operate in more than one state. That forces them into markets that involve more risk. Moreover, they are more vulnerable to weaknesses in overseas real estate markets. Said Michael Maclean, Ottawa's superintendent of financial institutions: "The highly regionalized structure of the U.S. system means that banks there are more susceptible to failure. There are solvent institutions in the Canadian system."

The fall in U.S. property values over the past two years has been most severe in the Northeast—particularly in New England, where commercial real estate prices have dropped by up to 60 per cent. Federal regulators had for months been monitoring the health of the Bank of New England Corp., a Boston-based holding company that controls the Bank of New England and other property banks. The Bank of New England Corp., the 23rd-largest in the United States, was said recently one of the region's most aggressive real estate lenders

In 1988, it posted a loss of \$1.2 billion—in part because many of its borrowers had defaulted on loans to commercial office projects and condominiums. Karen Wilson, a senior regulator with the Federal Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, said that the bank's fundamental problem was "loose lending that was widespread during the 1980s."

The bank finally ran out of survival strategies on Jan. 4, when it announced that it expected to lose as much as \$450 million in the last three months of 1990—bringing its total losses for the year to \$653 million. Over the next two days, anxious depositors withdrew about \$1 billion from the bank and its sister institutions, the Connecticut Bank and Trust Co. of Hartford, Conn., and the Maine National Bank of Portland, Me. Finally, on Sunday, Jan. 6, regulators from the comptroller's office declared the bank insolvent and took it over, along with all of its related banks. They also announced that they were pouring \$750 million into the banks and that the total cost of the bailout would likely be \$2.3 billion—making it one of the most expensive bank rescues ever.

The collapse was the fourth-largest U.S. bank failure and the first major collapse of the current recession. But other large banks are also facing serious problems. As of Sept. 30, 13 per cent of the \$4.8 billion in commercial real estate loans at Shawmut National Corp. of



Ready restructuring the U.S. banking system

Boston were classified as nonperforming because the borrowers had failed to pay 90 days behind in their payments. A similar proportion of the Bank of Boston's \$3-billion portfolio of commercial real estate loans is nonperforming. By contrast, the situation in the United States, less than five per cent of the value of Canadian banks' real estate loans are usually classified as nonperforming. Problems with bad loans have also spread down the U.S. East Coast, hitting banks such as Midland in New Jersey, West Financial Corp. in Maryland and Southeast Banking Corp. in Florida.

Even the country's most powerful banks are vulnerable. The two largest financial institu-

Business Notes

BATA RESUPPLY

Canada shoe magnate Thomas Bata Sr. has been agreed in a deal to regain control of the Canadian operations of the firm he founded in 1930. The Czechoslovakian government and that three sons, including the large Bata shoe factory in the town of Zlín, belong to the state. Bata, 76, fled Czechoslovakia after the 1948 invasion in 1939. The Soviet-dominated parent government seized the family's holdings in 1948.

A SUDEN GROUNDING

As all-party House of Commons committee unanimously resumed the Canadian effort to negotiate a world-wide sales agreement with the United States. In response to Transport Minister Douglas Lewis, the committee said that allowing U.S. airlines unrestricted freedom to fly between Canada and Canada could devastate the nation's domestic carriers.

HIGH-TECH TURBOL

Chief executives of two prominent Ottawa-based high-tech industry companies resigned. Andrew Bryden, 43, stepped down after 16 years as chairman of SRI, Syntronics Inc., which designs and assembles computer systems, at the request of the company's board of directors. John Jarvis, 47, quit as president of British Columbia-based microcomputer development manufacturer M&I Corp., which he joined in 1981 and returned to profitability in 1984 after three years of losses.

LABOURY SETTLER LIAISON

The U.S. waste-management division of Burlington, Ont.-based Landfill Inc. agreed to pay \$3.45 million in legal costs and restrictions to settle a California consumer protection and fraud lawsuit. About 20,000 industrial and commercial customers claimed that they were overcharged for landfill costs. Landfill executives said that the settlement was not an admission of liability.

PAN AM CLIPPED

Troubled New York City-based Pan Am Corp., the eighth-largest airline in the United States, filed for protection from its creditors under U.S. bankruptcy law. Pan Am chairman Thomas Platt said that the airline will continue to fly during the restructuring period. Pan Am lost about \$4 billion during the 1980s. Platt said that events beyond the 63-year-old airline's control, including the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am jet over Scotland, had destroyed its finances. He added that the airline may sell off its remaining assets to a rival.

from, Citicorp and Chase Manhattan both based in New York City, have announced major layoffs and slashed the amount of dividends they pay to stockholders in order to improve their financial positions. Some analysts say that

a further decline in real estate values could precipitate a massive wave of restructuring in the industry, as weak banks go out of business or form partnerships with healthier institutions. "For a decade or more, they have been making questionable loans," and Robert Reich, a professor of economics at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., "There will undoubtedly be more consolidations and closings of banks."

In Washington, some financial regulators said last week that further bank failures are almost inevitable if the economy does not turn around by the middle of this year. They added that there are signs that the recession may worsen. Declared vice chairman William Stehrman: "Almost everything we're seeing in macroeconomic statistics shows we're not seeing any improvement, and we might see some further declines." Stehrman also acknowledged that it was "not beyond the realm of possibility" that taxpayer money will be needed "to replenish the rapidly shrinking insurance fund."

The prospect of a huge, government-directed bailout of the banking industry has provoked heated debate in Congress and moved banking

reform to the top of President George Bush's domestic agenda. The controversy has been fueled in part by widespread voter outrage over the collapse of much of the U.S. savings and loan industry, which is expected to cost



Kruse: "a lot of our competitors are focusing on problems"

regulators over the \$500 billion over the next two decades.

Later this month, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady will announce a legislative package that will likely be the most sweeping overhaul of the U.S. banking system since the 1930s. Oc-

casions currently under consideration would remove the geographical restrictions on banks in order to encourage the creation of larger, more locally based institutions. The legislation may also give banks the powers they have traditionally sought in order to compete directly against securities firms, insurance companies and real estate brokerages. Meanwhile, Treasury officials say they are considering ways of limiting the total amount of insurance coverage for individual depositors to \$100,000, regardless of the number of accounts they maintain. Currently, some large depositors grant themselves security by dividing their savings among several institutions, helping to more than \$100,000 in any single bank.

But even those changes may be insufficient to relieve the stress on the system. Tinkering below a Senate committee last week, Stehrman outlined a proposal to create another large fund—financed by the banking industry itself—that would inject new money into weak banks. The fund would be used to limit bank failures and encourage banks to depressed regions to continue lending money—overriding a so-called credit crunch that could push the economy further into recession. U.S. officials point out that the concentration of high loan losses, severe lending restraint and fears of bank failure helped to drive the United States into the 1930s Depression. The challenge now is to strengthen the U.S. banking system—without public confidence in its stability—before the current recession becomes much graver.

BORIS LAVROV with JETER H. STONE is in New York and JOHN DALY is in Toronto.

been outright. The Montreal-based National Bank of Canada, the last year acquired control of New England Commercial Finance Corp., a Bank of New Brunswick subsidiary that has about \$750 million in loans outstanding, to smelt and smelted businesses, mostly in the Midwest and Southwest.

Other major Canadian banks have declined to become involved in loan losses. Says Dalry: "They have a lot of money willing to lend the good stuff. They've been selling the junk." Kruse, however, says that the cat's deal with the Bank of New England was sound. He added: "They had one major problem—they just didn't retain loans. Some of the other [banks] were real guns." But Kruse acknowledges that opportunities for similar purchases of good loans are becoming scarcer. Still, the challenges for Canadian banks will be to retain their new businesses when their U.S. rivals begin slimming

JOHN DALY

Learning to climb back

The recession inflicts pain on many Canadians

As the recession deepens, an increasing number of Canadians are feeling the wrenching effects of unemployment. Last week *Maclean's* Canada reported that 1,281,000 people were out of work in November, an increase of 35,000 from the previous month. To find out how jobless Canadians are dealing with the problem, *Maclean's* correspondents met to unscripted people across the country. Their reports:

Since executives who are about to lose their jobs often receive the notice during private outings with their bosses. But that is not what happened to Charles Henrich, former president and chief executive officer of Sheritt Gordon, a Toronto-based metal refiner and fertilizer company. Instead of a clandestine session, Henrich, 46, was forced to watch while the company's shareholders, who were upset about Sheritt Gordon's falling profits, voted him out of his job during a special shareholders' meeting on Sept. 19 in Toronto. "If you're a CEO, you should always be prepared for remote possibilities," Henrich says now. "I wouldn't say the outcome was a disaster shock, but you never prepare yourself completely for any kind of change."

Four months later, Henrich is clearly defensive about his expulsion from the executive suite of Canada's third-largest metal-refining company. He points out that he had joined Sheritt Gordon only six months earlier, adding that he needed more time to improve its performance. But Henrich adds that the experience of losing his job has also given him time to reassess his personal life and his goals. Last fall, he returned to Vancouver, where he had previously been head of Per East operations for Alcoa Aluminum Ltd. His new lines in the affluent Vancouver neighborhood of Shaughnessy with his wife, Louise.

Henrich declined to say how much he earned at Sheritt Gordon or how much he received in severance. He now spends more days looking for another full-time position, either in Canada or abroad, and fulfilling a part-time commitment as executive-on-call for the faculty development and business at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver.

The change of routine and the struggle to reestablish himself, Henrich says, have also had a positive side. He admits: "Because you're forced to do it before, you seldom have an opportunity to have a hard look at yourself and change. This forces you to do that. You look at what you've done, what your strengths are, where you want to go. That can be a very affirming process."

Reaching clearing benches: a succession of odd jobs

Her neighbors in Leepore, a fishing community of 1,500 people on Nova Scotia's south shore, call her "the busy grandmother." But Patrick Ferguson, director of the Leepore Support Centre, insists that she is "just a former fish-plant worker who wanted to do her part." In June, 1980, Ferguson and about 250 other people in the area lost their jobs when Noranda Sea Products Ltd. of Halifax announced that it was closing its Leepore plant—the town's largest employer. Ferguson, who had earned \$19,000 a year as a fish

trawler, says that as a result, she quickly sank into depression. But she later resolved to help her former co-workers by organizing food and clothing bank for other laid-off employees. Even now, more than 50 families depend on the facility, which also offers government-funded retraining and counseling services. Ferguson, who works 16-hour days, says that she could never have kept the center going without donations from local businesses. "I did as I saw," she added. "The plant closure has really brought the community together."

The 500 employees who were laid off received a maximum of 18 weeks' severance pay, but that money quickly ran out. Now, most of them subsist on a combination of unemployment insurance checks, short-term government make-work projects and any occasional employment that they can find in the area.

They face other problems, as well. Drug and alcohol abuse have climbed sharply in the



A CANADIAN OPPORTUNITY

Alan Kruse is one of the relatively few buyers in New York City who has built a top option. One of Kruse's main responsibilities, as executive vice-president of the Citicorp Bank of Commerce's U.S.-based corporate bank, is to arrange loans to large U.S. borrowers—a task that he says is easier now because of the weak state of the American banking system. Facing large real estate loan losses, many U.S. banks are reluctant to lend money to new borrowers and they are reluctant to reduce some of their existing loans. Kruse says that he is taking advantage of that situation in order to increase the Citicorp's portfolio of U.S. loans. He added: "A lot of our competitors are focusing on their problems, rather than on opportunities."

Canadian bank executives in the United

Obsessed with sex

Self-help groups treat sexual addiction

The slender, intense young man, with wire-rimmed glasses and impressively groomed hair, says that he has a solid marriage, two happy children and a rewarding job. But, for three years, the Toronto computer technician found that he increasingly wanted to have sex with prostitutes. After finishing his eight shift at a downtown office, he said, he would drive along a street that he knew prostitutes frequented. He said that he watched them, regularly talked to them and occasionally paid for their services. But, he said, by early last year he had become convinced that his obsession was out of control, and he began seeing a psychotherapist. While he chose to turn to a professional for help, thousands of other North American men and women have chosen a different way of dealing with similar obsessions. They have joined self-help groups, modeled on Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), to overcome what they regard as a damaging and potentially dangerous problem: so-called sexual addiction.

The self-help approach to sexual problems began to flourish during the late 1970s and, since then, three major organizations have emerged: Boston-based Sex and Love Addicts Anonymous (SALAA), Minneapolis-based Sex Addicts Anonymous (SAA) and California-based Sexuals Anonymous (SA). All of them have chapters in Canada, although they are reluctant to disclose details about their activities. One of the leading proponents of the theory that sexual activity can be addictive is Patrick Carnes, a Minneapolis-based family therapist. He operates an in-patient clinic that treats people he describes as sexually addicted individuals. "Sex addicts do things even though it may cost them their marriage, their job and lots of money," Carnes told *Maclean's*. "They see sex as a way to deal with pain."

Indeed, individuals who claim to be sexually addicted frequently admit that their sexual behavior is partly due to other personal problems. A 31-year-old Minneapolis man named Bob, who has been a member of SAA for two years, said that he was a victim of incest as a child and later developed alcohol and drug problems. The man said that he is married and, before joining SAA, sometimes had daily sexual encounters. He admitted that he visited homosexual bathhouses and massage parlors for anonymous sex, and occasionally purchased sex from prostitutes of both sexes. Now, said Bob, "I don't go to bathhouses, massage parlors or any place that might tempt me."

But many medical leaders vigorously dispute the notion that sex can be addictive and warn that treatment based on the AA model



Prostitute with client: Johnson. Whiskey (Johnson) abuse

should be accompanied by professional therapy. Selwyn Rob, a Toronto psychologist who has treated people with addictions and sexual problems for 18 years, said that excessive sexual activity is frequently connected to drug or alcohol abuse. He added that he has mostly encountered anyone whose only problem is compulsive sexual behavior. Beverly Ruppel, a former sex therapist who is now executive director of the Burn-based Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, also expressed skepticism about sexual addiction. Said Ruppel, "It incredibly overemphasizes the issues I see this as a catchy, marketable tool that

some people are using to encourage aggressive attitudes about sex."

But those who are involved with self-help groups dismiss the criticism of therapists and psychologists. The manager of SAA's national office in Minneapolis, a 29-year-old man who identified himself only as Douglas, said that he has joined the organization four years ago. Before that, he said, he was obsessed by pornography and was constantly cheating on girlfriends by looking for other sexual partners. He added, "I felt compelled to do what I was doing. Sex addicts experience powerlessness over their sexual behavior. Other people don't." Douglas said that since joining SAA, he has dated really women but becomes sexually involved with only one.

The self-help groups rely on the 12-step program first developed by AA to deal with addiction. The same principles have been applied to a number of other problems, including drug addiction, compulsive gambling and overeating. Among other things, the AA program urges participants to admit that they are powerless to control their problem. They are advised to make an inventory of the wrongs that they have committed and the people whom they have hurt. As well, participants are urged to accept the existence of a god, or some form of "higher power," and to try to rely on that power to help overcome their problems.

The major difference among the three main groups that deal with people who are excessively sexually active is in their definitions of "sexual addiction." Two of the groups, SAA and SALAA, stress a few "symptoms," while SAA's rapid

approach leads to discourage gay participants. The most conservative, and therefore, group is SA, which was founded in 1970 and is now based in San Mateo, Calif., about 60 miles north of Los Angeles.

A woman called Max, who described herself as its executive secretary, and during a telephone interview said that SA members must refrain from any type of sexual activity outside "a traditional, legal, heterosexual marriage." She said that there are 50 groups across the United States and in Canada, Europe and South America. But she declined to disclose the number of groups or total membership. A woman employee at



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BLAKE INTERNS OFFICE in Boston said that the organization has 800 groups mostly in the United States and Canada. She said that NAA allows its members to create their own definition of sexual coercion. "Everybody comes into a group with different beliefs that is making this unmanageable," said the nurse, who declined to give her name, "so you create your own beliefs here." A Toronto spokesman named Peter said that there are several NAA groups in the city.

NAA, which has groups in Vancouver, Winnipeg and Ottawa, also allows its members to define sexual coercion in consultation with other members. Douglas, the manager of the national office in Minneapolis, said that she has 380 groups across the United States. He added that about 80 per cent of the participants are men. "When people get into recovery, they're generally out to great shape," said Douglas. "They're usually satisfied, major consequences, such as divorce, job loss or arrest."

During the past six years, about 1,500 patients have checked into the 50-bed Sexual Dependency Unit at the Golden Valley Health Center near Minneapolis. Family therapist Carmen, who is founder of the unit, said that the 35-day program that he supervises involves group discussions about excessive sexual behavior and instructions by physicians and psychotherapists in such subjects as healthy sexuality and the causes of addictive behavior. Patients and that full recovery from sexual addiction can take up to five years.

According to Carmen, self-described sex addicts often share common backgrounds and personality traits. A book by Carmen, entitled *Don't Call It Love*, will be published in March. It based on a survey of 1,600 recovering addicts in Canada, of whom 85 per cent of the people he surveyed had a sexual addiction, mostly alcohol or drugs, and a similar percentage said that they had experienced sexual abuse as children. He also found that 37 per cent of the men admitted to having been divorced from their spouse or estranged as a result of their sexual dependency. Added Carmen:

"The professionals who make disparaging comments about the problem have probably never talked to a sex addict, never been to a clinic and never seen the shambles of an addict's family."

Despite the growing membership of organizations dedicated to treating sex addiction, many psychoanalysts and psychologists continue to debate the possibility of sex addiction or coarctation, that is, as it is called in many glossaries, Ottawa clinical psychologist Jon Jackson. Whitley said that she has sent only two clients to self-help groups for the sexually addicted during the past five years. She and other therapists also maintain that excessive sexual activity is usually a symptom of a troubled or more problematic life or alcohol abuse. But psychoanalysts and members of self-help groups tend to agree on one point: both say that those who claim to suffer from the addiction are deeply troubled individuals desperately in need of help.



Florida police patrol murder victims may be lured by 'demon in distress'

CRIME

Death on the I-75

Two women may be killing Florida motorists

The sequence of bizarre slayings in north-central Florida led to an extraordinary meeting in November. And, as the microphone, officials from four Florida agencies clustered in Ocala, a chilling pattern emerged: a serial killer, or killers, had murdered at least eight people. All of the victims were middle-aged men who had been driving alone on the main administrative highway, the I-75, a route often used by vacationing Canadians—and other people in areas in the state. All had been shot with a 20-calibre weapon, and their bodies dumped in out-of-the-way places. Two more men have disappeared, and police say that they expect that those men have been victims of the same killers. What distinguishes the case from other serial murders is that, according to police, the killers may be two women in their 20s or 30s who meet men at roadside convenience stores or ask for help along the highway before luring the victims to their deaths.

The dead men, all white, ranged in age from 40 to 65. The first known name was Richard Maxwell, a 55-year-old video-store owner from Clearwater, Fla., whose bullet-riddled body was found near the I-75 in Daytona Beach on Dec. 13, 1998. The next victim of one of the suspected killers was Walter Adams, 60, an unemployed truck driver from Cocoa, Fla., whose body was found on a little-used road in north Florida on Nov. 19.

Family and friends of the dead men described them as people who would help others in need of assistance. According to Sgt. Robert

Douglas of the sheriff's office in central Florida's Marion County, that suspect could have been one of the reasons the men died. The killers, said Douglas, "could have been posing as demure in distress, saying their car was broken down."

A promising lead in the case was uncovered by the Marion County sheriff's office in July. After an accident involving a single car on the north-central Florida turn of Orange Springs, police found the vehicle abandoned nearby and identified it as having belonged to 65-year-old Peter Steim, a suspected victim in the serial killings. Later, a paramedic and a witness at the accident scene said that they had spoken to two women who they believed had been occupants of Steim's car. The women could not be helped and disappeared. From witnesses' descriptions, police put together a profile of a woman with shoulder-length blond hair who may have a heart-shaped tattoo on her arm. The composite was described as stocky and dark-skinned.

James Alan Fox, a professor of criminal justice at Northumbria University in Boston, said that down there five per cent of serial killers are women. He said, "It is a rare case for women to work as a team, and it's uncommon for women to kill people they don't know." Meanwhile, Douglas said that the latest murders have made many men more cautious than usual about picking up hitchhikers or helping motorists along Florida's highways.

FRANK ADAMS in Winter Haven, Fla.

MEDIA WATCH



The media's role in the GST 'chaos'

BY GEORGE RAIN

Borden Spears, who had been senior consultant to Senator Keith Dwyer's committee on mass media, and one of the principal writers of its 1993 report, wrote eight years later as a columnist at *The Toronto Star* of the crisis that had been reported by that committee—"that the best measure of an editorial crisis is how well it prepares the public for the dislocations of social change." He did so in passing, in responding to the published criticism of Grant MacEwan, a self-proclaimed "social journalist," that the media failed to prepare Canadians for "any kind of political-economic changes beyond the social." Spears neither fully accepted nor rejected the criticism, but said that it reflected one of two views of the function of the press: "The [MacEwan] view is of an instructor and agent of radical change. The press must itself rather than interpret and fortify, not so much move."

Where Spears felt that the media in relation to the criticism he had helped established—the media get a passing or a failing grade—he did not say. Neither did he try to the space of a short column to defend the sort of social change the media should be in the line of preparing Canadians for, except obliquely by agreeing to accept as a sort of start line "political-economic changes beyond the social." So, the Goods and Services Tax (GST) would now be written that, especially as part of a package encompassing privatisation and efforts to raise revenues and cut expenditures as part of a national debt reduction to manageable proportions.

The Dwyer committee's criticism, expressed more fully among the Ottawa media at the time, Canada in the late 1980s and early 1990s was relatively unchanged. Change, or talk of change, was in fashion and everything seemed possible. Now the idea that realists prepare the public for change might count as the best measure of media effectiveness sounds quaint. More often, the purpose of the news pages of the newspapers and the news reporting on the nightly television news shows

Post-New Year's stories saying that Canadians were at sea about the GST were not so much news as a massive admission of failure

would be content to create a student and to limit any success sense of realism that would lead to the conclusion that change might even be necessary.

Here it is necessary to note a particular Canadian media phenomenon: that editorial writers and columnists in newspapers and their syndicated counterparts, the people with immediate access to news, would say on many occasions in their analysis of events that their colleagues follow the supposedly unexamined news spaces. As the news is at least dominated by news people, the constant repetition of them of any slant is likely to have more effect than anything said by the so-called newsmakers, who appear to most specialised audiences.

Had the media not set to demonstrate how little they had prepared the public for the "dislocations" of the GST, they accurately could have done better than to have run so many stories about it since one-sided criticism of the country's debt as "unsustainable" and "chaos." At least one editorialist completely blamed the government's information services, which may even have been honestly—in part. But the line between what is true and what is not is a fine one and the proclaimed mission of the media to inform, which presumably means to educate

couldn't have done so without the public. Second, the fact that there has been a long time in the public domain, more than enough, which to have in the adverse fortunes, thoroughly understood, which would have meant less disorientation—of, for instance, the outbreak of insanity in the Senate—and more education. Given those facts, the post-New Year's stories saying that Canadians were at sea about what happened and so much news as a massive admission of failure.

A lot has changed since 1979 when Dwyer's committee confidently had done its interim. Most particularly what has changed is that the adversarial approach of the media in Canada is gone and has been replaced by the post-Second-World-War approach. It is not necessarily what government does that matters, but that government does it. Along with that, the news pages have become more sophisticated, and increasingly openly, but often through the device of the reporter regularly turning for comment to persons whose known record with his or her own. Third, there has been a sort of pervasiveness of professionalism, which accepts as practice that what "the street" wants is collected by polls or by sample reporter estimates, "the street" is going to get.

One result of those changes, and others, is that, to the two views of journalism to which Borden Spears referred—the media as instructors, or agents of change, and the media simply as interpreters and newsmakers—must be added a third. The media as commentators, editorialist not just in the sense of being alert to the mistakes and excesses of government, but adversarial in the point of leading assessments. Some of that was evident in the coverage of the long tax struggle. The reader probably of the very much more muted and more "objective," "impartial," "unbiased" and even "honest," "dispassionate" and "disinterested" could only be expected to reinforce previous attitudes as a measure that was never desired, being a lot, to be greeted with hostility. But the media's role in the GST crisis, and the likelihood is that people will not be saying that they like it, rather than better to try to understand it.

In September, 1994, and in January and November, 1990, *Globe and Mail* got many editorial questions in asking questions. As yet in favor of replacing the manufacturers sales tax with a new national goods and services tax (GST). Notwithstanding that the proposed rate for the GST was down to seven per cent the same time, the number of people who opposed went up from 72 per cent, to 74 per cent, to 78 per cent. (The parliamentary question was saying in the last stages that 85 per cent of Canadians were opposed.)

The specific questions Spears considered them of the media's role in the coverage of the mass media were the challenges of the word "chaos." It is the phrase 1990s, when playing the internet on the national debt will cause \$41 billion in 1996-1997, one-third of all the revenue Ottawa takes in, the question is whether they are realistic enough to see that the GST is not a silver bullet, a silver different coat and not faster the plans that only facts can be used out of existence.

BOOKS

Holocaust shadows

Three survivors make peace with the past

EMOTIONAL ARITHMETIC

By Matt Cohen
(Center & Geyser Design, 267 pages, \$24.95)

At each stage of his career, Canadian novelist and short-story writer Matt Cohen, 43, has defied expectations. He gained a reputation in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a clever writer of experimental comic fiction (*Johnny Cowbird Rings*, *Columbus and the Flat Earth*) before producing a more somber and conventional set of five novels between 2004 and 2006 (including *The Disorientated and Wonder Howlers*) set in the rural backwaters of Loyalis eastern Ontario. Then, in 1994, Cohen shifted his focus to Jewish history, publishing *The Spanish Doctor*, a novel dealing with the expulsion of Spanish Jewry in the 14th and 16th centuries. He followed that with *Nadine*, a wrenching story about a woman whose parents died at the hands of the Nazis. Now, with *Emotional*

Arithmetic, Cohen further explores the Holocaust theme.

Although Cohen's fiction has ranged over the geographic, historical and cultural map, his latest book was more disquieting than his work is usually by a persistent concern with the interrelationship between present and past. Few events in the 20th century offer writers an opportunity to explore the implications of that relationship as thoroughly as the Holocaust. *Emotional Arithmetic* is a study of its effects on three survivors—two Jews and a Christian—who met at the Nanaimo internment camp at Dauncy, near Paris.

One of them is Melaine Lattanz Winters, a brilliant but unstable and derelicting woman married to a philandering University of Toronto history professor. For her, everything—from husband's crimes to visits from incarcerated son, Benjamin—are "experiences in the emotional arithmetic of love and hate... experiences suffered and ravaged not out."

The novel opens in the present, with Melaine being treated at a private institution for a breakdown. Her doctor tells Benjamin, "As your mother and as your father's wife, Melaine Winters hardly seems surprised." But, although suicidal and schizophrenic, she turns out to be capable of being several again.

Another survivor is an Englishman, Christopher Lewis, a well-known author living in Paris who was interned at Dauncy for ascriptional reasons. He left his marriage (a suffering of the Jews, writes Cohen, "told the same a guard's foot buried itself in his ribs." Someone screamed in rage at the guard, throwing herself at him. It was Melaine. Some afterwards, she and Christopher became lovers).

These protagonists were Jewish friends. In Dauncy, shunning their separate homes and despite the threat of their surrogate father, raising the possibility that if God was love, that God existed—was in a concentration camp. "There I have found the love of many people given love to camp people," he told Melaine and Christopher.

After the war, the three of them went their separate ways, retaining an intense connection to each other and to the experience that had marked them. Besides, however, who had become an outspoken political dissident in his native Soviet Union ended up in a Soviet prison hospital. A legless new local man, he is regarded by his supporters as a martyr, Stalinist-like beacon of conscience. In the novel, it is his vague of endurance and faith that illuminates the dark corners of human experience.



Cohen: chronicling the quest for equilibrium in a world of absurd contradictions

Underlying the action of *Emotional Arithmetic* is the quest in the past of all the novel's characters for equilibrium, for what Cohen calls "temporary balance" in a world of absurd contradictions. Shifting between present and past, the anti-standards plot of *Emotional Arithmetic* gathers to a dramatic reunion of the three survivors almost half a century after their liberation from Dauncy.

After his return by Soviet authorities,

Franklin travels with Christopher to the Winters' farm in western Ontario. Melaine has decided to return a favor she will take the aging Franklin in, giving him a home in his final years. For her, it will be a kind of redemption. Writes Cohen: "All these years she has been like a one-legged creature, hopping about in search of her second leg, which Jakob Franklin, the unexpected apparition from her past, would now provide."

The experiment produces more unexpected but not unwelcome consequences. Melaine and Christopher relapse their passion. Melaine's husband—"a cruelly lonely vulnerable ambitious middle-aged creature stranded in the middle of a life he didn't understand"—is raised into a passion portrayed as part self-righteous indignation and part farce. Franklin acquiesces to save the situation. In the end, Benjamin, who senses parts of the novel, makes peace with the father from whom he has been estranged. And the survivors—those at Melaine—make peace with themselves.

In choosing to write about the Holocaust, Cohen has taken enormous risks. The subject has been tackled by some of the major figures in international contemporary fiction, from Elie Wiesel (*Night*) to D. M. Thomas (*The White Man's Burden*) to William S. Burroughs (*The Waste Land*). Yet Cohen's book is a worthy addition to the literature about the event. In Melaine, especially, he has created a character who is convincing and memorable.

As a subplot, Benjamin's story is less compelling, particularly in the gloomy scenes of contact between him and his doctor brother-in-law. That some readers extend to the chapter titles, which include "Rememory and Memory Work" or "Non-Krypton Rings Invisible Shield." Still, the book's strengths as a survivor's tale of suffering and hope overcome those shortcomings. In *Emotional Arithmetic*, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

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Bele Newsweek (left), Depardieu, MacDonnell vulnerability and intelligence

FILMS

Marital blitz

Franco-American friction ignites a romance

GREEN CARD

Directed by Peter Weir

Groove Depardieu, France's biggest star, is no stranger to the big screen. He has appeared in about 70 movies in 25 years. A chess-master's son, he was dropped out of school at 12. Depardieu is a working-class hero for the French. Defying his blue-collar background, the big man with the Gallic nose portrays a paragon of erudition in *Cyrus de Berenger*, now showing across North America. Depardieu's fantastic performance to date, which won the top acting prize at last year's Cannes Film Festival, marks the greatest triumph of his career. But *Cyrus* director Jean-Paul Rappenois keeps the camera at a maddening distance from his star. And the director's stately adaptation of Edward Rostand's classic play works against Depardieu's magnetic energy. Now, *Green Card*, a sparkling romantic comedy, captures his magic in a more intimate and natural light. The actor has taken on his first stage English-speaking role in the movie, and it fits him like a glove. The script was, in fact, custom-made for him: Australian writer-director Peter Weir (*Witness*, *Dead Poet Society*) wrote it with Depardieu in mind.

The way it has been promoted by Disney's Touchstone Pictures, *Green Card* smells like another cornball Hollywood comedy. It does have a highly contrived premise: an unlikely romance sprouts from a marriage of convenience between a wall-of-the-earth Frenchman trying to obtain American immigrant status and a copper gardener devoted to the growing of Manhattan. But Weir has an eye for the sort of subtle emotional detail that no formula can tolerate. And Depardieu seems exquisitely at ease with Weir's script, which casts him as an enigmatic foreigner haunted by America. The result is a funny, affectionate comedy of manners that has the grace, wit and verve of a Woody Allen movie—but not the depth.

George (Depardieu), who claims to be a struggling French composer, gets married to obtain a green card—the document that allows an alien to live and work in the United States. A friend arranges a perfunctory city hall wedding to a naive New Yorker named Brenda (Annie MacDonnell), who has her own attempt at having a spouse. A horticulturalist, she covers a greenhouse apartment with a rooftop greenhouse that is available only to a married couple. Immediately after exchanging vows, George and Brenda go their separate ways. Depardieu gets the greenhouse apartment not shown in that

later, as investigation by immigration officials who suspect Brenda lured George and Brenda to become better acquainted.

Green Card is a love story in reverse. It begins with elaborate domesticity and creeps towards romance. George moves into Brenda's apartment and discovers their secrets. They slowly reveal each other's habits. They are mutually appalled. He makes great clumps of garlic with his bare hands; she uses moisture meters to grow exotic plants in a garden that lacks a vegetable patch. He likes strong espresso, and wine, which Brenda and discretion. Her world is low-life, high-class, downcast and ecologically correct. He grew up in poverty and sees no point in trying to revile or release his origins. She is a daughter of the upper class dedicated to beautifying the ghetto—she works with the Green Gardening, a real-life volunteer group that plants gardens in New York City slums. Brenda's real-life identity leaves George astonished. Meanwhile, she is attracted by his subtle behavior.

Brenda and George are a variation on the Beauty and the Beast. Their bewitched romance is, superficially, dual between American middle-class and European passion. But, as an inspired touch, Weir uses African culture as a perennial counterpoint throughout the movie. A riveting sequence during the opening credits shows a 14-year-old black youth beating out a tribal rhythm on a plastic tub. Brenda and George first meet at the Alibi Café. After their marriage, Brenda explains her husband's absence by saying that he is in Africa. And when Brenda finally shows up at her lawyer apartment looking the doctor says that he looks like "the just stopped out of the jungle."

As George, Depardieu makes the most of his bulging physical presence, which seems to make subtle depths of vulnerability and intelligence. The delicate MacDonnell serves as an ideal foil. Her character is similar to the one she played in *Sex, Lies and Videotape* (1989), a repressed but twirling woman whose values are challenged by a mysterious stranger. Some of the supporting characters are more curious, notably Brenda's boyfriend, a rapist vegetable named Phil (George E. Stone), who is a parody of the sensitive New Age guru.

Weir pushes the movie's symbolism a little too far. At times, the symmetry seems too subtly schematic: George wants a green card, Brenda wants a greenhouse. He buys a big fat goldfish for his Manhattan garden, and she sticks tomato plants among her precious breads. It all fits together like a piece of impeccable carpentry. But a fine texture of quirky touches—in the acting, the direction and the script—bring the movie to life.

Green Card is a romantic comedy in a romantic—and acceptable. It is a instructive caution, but perhaps the best available. And like the rest of the movie, it contains an element of surprise. Meanwhile, as a foreign actor coaching Brenda in North America, Depardieu has made his first romance with Hollywood more than a marriage of convenience.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

MAGAZINE/JANUARY 21/1991 59



Lester (left), Denzys: a corporate situation over which we had no control

PUBLISHING

Closing the books

A venerable publishing house shuts down

At a publishing industry Christmas party in Toronto last December, the "No Barons Cabaret and Revue," staged by the Book Publishers Professional Association, resembled an annual satire of publishing politics and personalities. One of the skits featured actors posing as Louise Denzys and Malcolm Lester, publisher and president, respectively, of the struggling Toronto-based Lester & Orpen Denzys (LOD) publishing house. Denzys and Lester were depicted as TV talk-show hosts, soliciting pledges for their fledgling company. In the brief skit, the actors promised viewers a prize for the "legend" donation: "a Hens executive lawsuit and grapes and long with Christmas lights." That piece of satire's theatrical dewy giggles and groans, but it was clearly on target in real life. Lester and Denzys had spent much of the autumn and fall seeking buyers for the firm since its parent company, Toronto-based Pagurian Corp. Ltd.—closely linked with Newfoundland's Intercontinental Bancorp Ltd.—had indicated it must not provide funds beyond the fall. The search for a buyer was unsuccessful, and last week Lester & Orpen Denzys suspended operations.

Although rumors of the company's problems had circulated for most of 1996, publishing

sources still expressed dismay at its closing. Seed Drop Gallery, artistic director of International Readings at Harbourfront in Toronto: "It's a very sad day for Canadian culture. At a time when Canadian publishing was regarded as important but definitely unprofitable, they brought great prestige and led us to Canada." Bill, publisher since that LOD's demise was not a sign that other publishers were about to close. Said Wayne Gilpin, executive director of the Association of Canadian Publishers: "It raises the question of whether it's possible to do that kind of publishing in Canada—serious literature aimed at an international market."

In 1980, two years after his marital partner, Rose Orpen, died, Lester formed a partnership with Denzys. The firm developed a solid reputation, particularly for its international fiction list, publishing such authors as Graham Greene, P. D. James, Ina Chabon and Martin Amis in Canada. With annual sales of \$2 million and a staff of 13, the company gained critical and commercial success with many of its books. Five of its 1990 titles are nominated for the Governor General's Literary Award, and the firm has sold audiobook rights to a newly created list of children's books. Declared Lester: "It's ironic that we seem to be going out with a bang."

But at the end, the firm's liabilities outstripped its assets by more than \$3 million, and sales had dropped to \$1.5 million in 1996 from over \$3 million in 1995. Executives of both Pagurian and LOD partly attribute financial problems to expansion and to a poor spring season last year, which badly affected the crime industry. "The company really hit a wall in July, 1996," said Brian Lawson, a vice-president for both Pagurian and those, linked to Pagurian since a complicated share exchange in 1988. But Lester claimed that the owners failed to provide enough funds to acquire new titles. Said the publisher: "If you start something up and then cut it short without giving it time to prosper, that's a company's problem."

The company went through a particularly difficult period after its acquisition by Pagurian Corp. in August, 1988. Christopher Ockerly, then president and chief executive officer of Pagurian, bought the company from Lester and Denzys for an undisclosed sum at a time when the partners were seeking a means of expanding. "This industry is undercapitalized," said Lester, pointing out that banks generally do not recognize publishers' inventory as collateral. "We thought Pagurian was the best solution at the time."

According to Denzys, Ockerly approached the partners in 1984 and presented them with his commitment to their growth. "He said he was interested in making us the back of a communications empire," Denzys told *Maclean's*. "It was an attractive offer. We certainly didn't expect Christopher to be out four months later." In December, 1988, Ockerly concluded a share-exchange deal with Hess, a merchant banking firm, and Lester & Orpen Denzys was included in the package. Said Lester: "We were caught up in a corporate situation over which we had no control."

For their part, Hess spokesmen said that they made it clear from the beginning that their firm, without experience or interest in publishing, was not committed to the company. Said Hess chairman Timothy Price: "We selected LOD as part of a much bigger deal. It would have been wonderful if Mr. Ockerly had wanted to keep LOD, but he didn't." Lawless said that Hess's primary responsibility was to help LOD find a new owner. He added: "They wanted to acquire with long-term investments in publishing. We had little to bring to the table except cash, and that was not the solution."

Last week, Pagurian officials announced that Toronto-based Key Porter Books Ltd. will assume responsibility for sales, marketing, production, subsidiary rights and accounting for LOD's approximately 150 backlist titles. Several books which were to be published this spring have been placed with other publishers. Both Lester and Denzys, who say that they spent a month in publishing to some pay, stated that they would like to publish a few more books well. "With the closing of Lester & Orpen Denzys, it seems that the familiar stage should have read 'publish and perish'."

DAVID TURKILL with VICTOR DYER in Toronto

BOOKS

Cold War of the soul

Le Carré writes his best book yet



Le Carré: succeeding with a fresher theme

THE SECRET PILGRIM
By John Le Carré
(Penguin, 332 pages, \$27.95)

The apparent end of the Cold War is welcomed by just about everyone—except arms manufacturers and espionage writers. The authors of books and screenplays to feed our fantasies for their deadly products. But the writers of spy fiction are leaving a hard time replacing their beloved Iran. Certain with anything quite so evocative of danger, intrigue and moral conflict as the global world. In his new novel, *The Secret Pilgrim*, British author John Le Carré solves the problem by simply reversing the Cold War years. In a lesser sense, such an approach might have generated only satirical. But Le

Carré has meditated deeply on the tensions of the Cold War, while his art has gained a strength and subtlety. The result is a book that takes the familiar forms of secret agents caught in webs of subterfuge—and turns it into a counterfactual metaphor for the decades of voluntary life.

The pilgrim of the book's title is also a narrative, a British intelligence officer known simply as Ned. Ned played a major role in Le Carré's earlier novel *The Russia House*, in which the defection of a British agent brought about Ned's banishment—although temporary—tension. Now, in *The Secret Pilgrim*, Ned has reached the end of his career. As the book opens, he has gathered a group of young spies to train them in the art of their craft for a graduation speech. The special guest for the evening is Le Carré's most famous secret agent, George Smiley. Long retired, Smiley entrails Ned's young students with his remarks about the meaning of a life in the secret service. And as Smiley talks, Ned recalls his own long and checkered career, gradually coming to terms with his development as a spy—and as a human being.

Ned recalls 10 events as all—10 looks that dramatic his pilgrimage from fellow apprenticeship to seasoned professional. The first job, he remembers, was gathering the family of a rich Arab, who was in Britain to buy arms. His misguided attempts to save the Arab's wife from a supposed assassin, who stalks her through the huge department of an upscale department store, provide the novel's lightest moments. But the task develops dramatically in the title, as which young Ned's friend and fellow spy, Ben MacIntyre, first posted in Berlin. When Ben crosses the Berlin Wall to meet with a British agent in the Communist sector, he accidentally becomes an entire network of Western spies. The crowd runs his life, and teaches Ned that has chosen espionage as a lifestyle, strong above a pull of potential tragedy.

Ned spends most of his career as a case officer overseeing the spring of others he is rarely a physical danger himself. "We're espionage," Smiley says at one point, adding that the agent in the field "lose not our dreams for us and we use others of self and sing behind our one-way mirror, telling ourselves that

seeing is feeling." But in one extraordinary scene, Ned's protective mentor threatens, and he is hauled into grave danger: jumping to defend to make contact with one of his agents, he is taken prisoner by the Communists and severely beaten. He escapes, but not before Le Carré has drawn a masterly psychological portrait of the man who helps him, a morally debased Communist called Jerry.

Such tragedy gives *The Secret Pilgrim* a moral weight that moves it from simple entertainment towards the realm of art. Ned's darkest story—what concerns an agent called House who tries to rescue his daughter from Khrushchev's parents in the Canadian people's teachers on psychological paradoxes worthy of Joseph Conrad. House explains to Ned that his financial loss for his daughter enabled her to survive starvation and torture, only to find that she had turned against him. Her father forces her into an upcoming marriage of the meaning of love. As Ned observes, "there is no reward for love except the experience of loss, and nothing to be learned by a enough hardship."

For sheer storytelling ability, the Le Carré of *The Secret Pilgrim* is one of the best and most gifted writers in the English language. He narrates of suspense without undue tension, of narrative drive without undue haste. Occasionally, he uses a page with reminiscence or a tendency to preach. But most of *The Secret Pilgrim* is a pure pleasure to read. Ingeborg shaped and effortlessly delivered, it is a master craftsman's best book yet.

JOHN BUCHHEIM

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Secret Pilgrim*, by John Le Carré (1)
- 2 *Harlow and the Sea of Storms*, by David (2)
- 3 *The House of the Spirits*, by Isabel (3)
- 4 *Burnt in the City*, by John (4)
- 5 *The Whistling Heart*, by John (5)
- 6 *Bound of My Heart*, by John (6)
- 7 *Songbook*, by John (7)
- 8 *The House of the Spirits*, by Isabel (8)
- 9 *The House of the Spirits*, by Isabel (9)
- 10 *Rebirth in the House of the Spirits*, by Isabel (10)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Travels and Times*, by John (1)
- 2 *World with Power*, by John (2)
- 3 *Nonfiction*, by John (3)
- 4 *The Great Depression*, by John (4)
- 5 *Diaries*, by John (5)
- 6 *Journal of the Archbishop*, by John (6)
- 7 *A Life in the World*, by John (7)
- 8 *Inside Memory*, by John (8)
- 9 *Overtime*, by John (9)
- 10 *Journal of the Archbishop*, by John (10)

(1) Continued last week

Compiled by Susan Bicknell



A gold medal in official hypocrisy

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

It takes some doing to make sympathetic reports out of two of the great villains of our time: That would be Charlie Francis, "The Cheater," at the premier track coach who was ironically known by the sportsman as the Canadian sports scribe—viewed as the cynical observer who turned Ben Johnson into the world's best sprinter by changing him into an undulatory dragonfly.

And there was your ample hint, the celebrated dropout who led to the world, and his mother, before he finally ran out of lies and had to confess what Charlie had been injecting into his muscle-bound body.

It would take some doing, one must admit. But the professional hypocrites who ran their sport in this country have managed to achieve the task "The Judge" who almost the track world are had enough. Cross them with the basic skepticism at government bureaucrats and we have a classic case of high hypocrisy. The substance of Johnson—because he is worth money to the sport—used the Mitelme from Francis—because they need a good—only source. All the official people above them who pretended not to know what they were doing knew their jobs. It's stupid work with everyone keeping a stiff upper lip.

No one at the top wants to confess the truth because they want to keep their jobs. The truth is the government of Canada, not Chuck Francis, created the steroid-stuffed Ben Johnson. The spinners helped, the newspapers helped, but essentially it was the government on high that transgressed the young immigrant from Jamaica discovered by Francis. The Gulf of Speed spreads across the country.

We're moaned about this before, at this time, but the facts bear repeating. Several decades ago, as Canada prepared to host each Olympic Games on making sure to bow many medals, guaranteed, there was the national granting of youth about Canada thinking as far down the track on the world scale.

Principled by the sports-page criticism, ever right for today, the government of the day decided to right the situation. The government—this being 1973—was a Liberal one,

jump champion Lynn Davies, was hired at some expense from Wales. Sprint coach Gersard Mielke—still there "not knowing" what Johnson was injecting in Speed—came from Poland. From England came Derek Rowley. Weights coach Joe-Paul Sartre was brought from France. To coach rowing, Tudor Brown came from Romania and was assisted by Rino Scaramuzza from Poland. Jack Swainson, Steve Kowalski and Brian Hickey came from New York to run the basketball program.

Both cycling coaches came from Britain, the manager from Halifax. Pincus? Rumania. Women's volleyball? Korea. Handball? Morocco. Water polo? Hungary. Swimming? Australia, England and Scotland. In total, 37 professional coaches smuggled in from abroad to do what Ottawa is a Sport Canada thought that we couldn't do ourselves on the way to becoming a non-East Germany.

In 1976, Ottawa spent \$5 million to subsidize sport, i.e., to boost our international image, some as East Germany. By 1984, the budget was \$30 million and by 1988 it was a struggle to get the 60-year-old Speed. This country is not a magnet on the world track scene. At the 1973 Olympics, we were ranked 21st in the world. At Montreal in 1988, we were 11th.

And who was ahead of this Gully populated led of \$5 million? As expected, the state-produced, subsidies of Eastern Europe took the top 10 positions. But only three non-Communist nations—the United States with some 220 million athletes, West Germany with 62 million and Japan with 113 million—lost out this little country.

The sports page, like the country as a whole, suffer from a serious case of adversity complex. In truth, Canada ranks among the top in the world in rowing, in basketball, volleyball, swimming, shooting, archery, wrestling and weightlifting.

We lead, however, in gold-medal making first of all in hypocrisy. Sport Canada banking out of course—midge, nudge—never suspected that Ben Johnson might be using the steroids that his competitors were using. Right up to the Dallas country, American world-record holders have never been caught. There has never been a US inquiry.

Francis points out the world indoor records taken from Ben were handed retroactively to the drug-free East German. We have not, at the moment, had a word from Sport Canada executive who has been lauded for life.

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